

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FOI/PA# 1184205-0

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lag

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 11/29/68

FROM : LEGAT, MANILA (105-12) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES

ReBulet to Paris, 5/7/56, captioned "Espionage and Foreign Intelligence Matters".

I. ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

The most important leader of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is FRANCISCO LAVA, JR. He is the General Secretary of the Secretariat and the Chairman of both the Central Committee and the Political Bureau (Poliburo) of the CPP.

There are twenty-five (25) regular members and six alternate members comprising the Central Committee. The Poliburo is composed of eleven regular members and four alternate members, and the Secretariat is composed of four members.

A. CENTRAL COMMITTEE

FRANCISCO LAVA, JR., Chairman

FRANCISCO BALTAZAR

ALEJANDRO BRIONES

DOMINGO CASTRO

FRANCISCO CATANGHAL

PAMFILO CENTENO

BALTAZAR CUYUGAN

ISIDRO DIMAL

ROMEO DIZON

(FNU) GANIAS

ROMULO GUZMAN

IGMEDIO HERNANDEZ

MAXIMO LACANILAO

(6 alternates)

ELENA SAWIT MACAPAGAL

FELICISIMO MACAPAGAL

MERLYN M. MAGALLONA

CARING MANGIDUYOS

GODOFREDO MALLARI

FRANCISCO R. NEMENZO, JR.

CARIDAD PASCUAL

PLACIDO PASCUAL

BARTOLOME PASION

MODESTO REYES

ANTONIO SANTOS

MARIANO ALIPIO

3-Bureau
(1-Liaison Section)

1-Manila

JSL:hke

(4)

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67 DEC 23 1968

B. POLITICAL BUREAU (POLITBURO)

FRANCISCO LAVA, JR., Chairman
FRANCISCO R. NEMENZO, JR.
DOMINGO CASTRO
PLACIDO PASCUAL
ROMULO GUZMAN
FELICISIMO MACAPAGAL
BARTOLOME PASION
MODESTO REYES

ANTONIO SANTOS
ALEJANDRO BRIONES
Alternates:
MERLYN M. MAGALLONA
FRANCISCO BALTAZAR
IGMEDIO HERNANDEZ
ROMEO DIZON

C. SECRETARIAT

FRANCISCO LAVA, JR., General Secretary
GODOFREDO MALLARI
FRANCISCO R. NEMENZO, JR.
FELICISIMO MACAPAGAL

1. Political Intelligence Bureau

CRISPIN BAIZAS, Chairman

2. Intelligence Division

PLACIDO PASCUAL, Chairman

3. Education Department

FRANCISCO R. NEMENZO, JR., Chairman

a. Propaganda Division

MERLYN M. MAGALLONA, Charman

4. Organization Department

GODOFREDO MALLARI, Chairman

a. Peasants Division

DOMINGO CASTRO, Chairman

- b. Trade Union Division
IGMEDIO HERNANDEZ, Chairman
- c. Civic Action Division
ANTONIO SANTOS, Chairman
- d. Finances Division
FRANCISCO BALTAZAR, Chairman
- e. Youth Division
ROMEO DIZON, Chairman
- f. Communications Division
ELENA SAWIT MACAPAGAL, Chairman

II. OBJECTIVES AND EFFECTIVENESS

Inasmuch as it has not yet achieved legal status in the Philippines, the CPP must still operate as an underground organization. Its ultimate objective is the establishment of a communist government in the Philippines. The CPP has been quite successful in furthering its aims through the utilization of front groups such as MASAKA, a pro-communist peasant organization, and KABATAANG MAKABAYAN, a pro-communist youth and student group.

III. POTENTIAL

It can be expected that the influence of the CPP in the Philippines will continue to increase if only in view of two recent developments: (1) pending legislation in the Philippine Congress to legalize the CPP; and (2) the current

MAN 105-12

Philippines Government's expressed desire to initiate the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with communist countries. Because of its well-established organizational structure, the CPP is prepared to commence overt operations immediately, in the event of passage of pending legislation to legalize it. And even if the legislation is not passed, the presence of communist diplomatic establishments or trade missions in the Philippines will certainly enhance the position of the CPP and render it considerably more influential in Philippine politics.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 3/31/69

FROM: LEGAT, MANILA (105-12) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES.

PHILIPINES

Leaders of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) are reportedly quite satisfied with the party's achievements in 1968. The CPP was accorded official recognition by the International Communist Movement (ICM) and has been invited to help plan the next international summit meeting of Communist Parties of the world. Another significant development was the apparent renewed interest of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the CPP, which was evidenced in substantial financial assistance provided and special training afforded in Russia to selected members of the CPP. All those factors have led to encourage CPP leaders in their efforts to establish a communist regime in the Philippines.

CPP member, [redacted] who was selected by the CPP Secretariat to attend a six-month training course in Russia, commencing in July, 1968, returned to the Philippines on 12/27/68, after having completed a course in military science. He was engaged in compiling a review of the course at the behest of the CPP Secretariat, when he suffered a stroke and was hospitalized. Upon his recovery, he will be expected to prepare a series of lectures in which he will attempt to impart to other CPP members the knowledge and methods revealed to him in the course of his training in Russia.

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C

The following persons were elected to the Executive Council of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (BRPF), University of the Philippines Chapter, at a meeting on 2/14/69:

3-Bureau
(1-Liaison Section)
1-Manila

JSL:hke
(4)

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Chairman: EDUARDO TADEM

Vice Chairman: GEMMA NEMENZO (sister of Dr. FRANCISCO NEMENZO, JR.)

Executive Secretary: CARLOS MAGTOLIS

Treasurers: ANGELA ABANILA
CYNTHIA YAP

Auditor: CECILE CANON

Executive Board
Members: YOLANDA YAP
PURA MAGISTRADO
WILLIAM YAO
MINERVA MANALAC

The University of the Philippines Chapter of the BRPF has begun the publication and distribution of a mimeographed newsletter entitled "Struggle". The first edition of the newsletter, which appeared early in March, 1969, advocated the formation of a united front against "American imperialism" and called for the release of imprisoned CPP leaders, who were characterized as "political prisoners".

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (105-882)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN
THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

DATE: 4/22/69

Enclosed for the Bureau are twelve copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. The LHM is datelined Washington, D.C. to protect the source at San Francisco.

On April 18, 1969, [redacted]

[redacted] requested that he be contacted by SA [redacted] with whom he has previously been acquainted. [redacted] indicated he was worried about increasing political use of anti-American sentiment in the Philippines and wanted to bring his thoughts to the attention of the American Government on a confidential basis.

[redacted] who has previously expressed himself as very pro-American and anti-communist, stated he feels so strongly about the matter that [redacted]

[redacted] if this were necessary to bring the problem to the attention of responsible American representatives who would be in a position to help pro-American candidates win in the next Philippine election.

[redacted] said it is not a matter of political party label but of individual personalities, some of whom are politicians of expediency who would sell their birth right for political advantage, while others place the welfare of the nation and the free world above personal advantage. [redacted] is particularly upset about the declaration by vote-conscious politicians, that American bases in the Philippines should be closed. [redacted] stated: "If America withdraws from Vietnam and Okinawa, the Philippines are our first line of defense against the Chinese Communists." In this connection, [redacted]

[redacted] use of the word "our" in the above quotation probably arises from the fact that [redacted]

- 5 - Bureau (Encls. 12)
- (2 - Legat, Manila)
- 3 - San Francisco
- (2 - 105-5613; Chicom Activities Philippines)

AGENCY CIA-STATE

REQ. REC'D

DATE FORW. 4/22/69

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BY BPM-JRH

APR 25 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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Copy to 2 vols. 1-2 vols. for Manila
by routing 5/4/69
Info 4/27/69
Date 4/27/69
BY BPM-JRH



MAY 8 1969

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SF 105-882
JES/cmp

[redacted] is favorably
disposed toward the FBI, in part because of his respect for
the Bureau as an American institution and in part because [redacted]

[redacted] in that
nation.

b6
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Enclosed LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" and is date-
lined Washington, D.C. so as to further protect the identity of
[redacted]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

April 22, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN
THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

In April, 1969, a source within the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, expressed great concern at the attitude which some officials in that government have recently taken toward its relations with the United States and the way they have begun to cater to anti-American sentiment in order to gain votes in the general election scheduled for the Fall of 1969 and to draw attention away from the charges of corruption which have been leveled at high government officials. Source expressed surprise that the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, CARLOS P. ROMULO, should have joined this campaign by calling for the abandonment of American bases in the Philippines. Source stated that political expediency appears to have made ROMULO forget his previous attitude of high regard for the United States. Source said the frightening aspect of the present situation is that there is a whole new generation of young voters in the Philippines who never had the advantage of living under the rule of the American government and who do not realize the degree to which American control and American institutions unlocked educational and other opportunities for the average citizen of the Philippines and made possible the way of life which now exists in that nation.

Source stated that Congressman MANUEL S. ENVERGA, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Philippine House of Representatives, has taken a strong stance against close relations with the United States and wants the United States to give up the military bases which it now maintains there. Source added that privately, Congressman ENVERGA has expressed himself as in favor of trade with Communist China as well as expanded trade with Soviet Russia, and has indicated his belief that forcing the United States to give up its military bases, will enable the Philippines to establish better relations with Communist countries.

ISLANDS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group 1
Excluded from automatic
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ENCLOSURE

64-200-239-544

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN
THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

As additional evidence of the changing attitude of the Philippine Government, the source pointed out that recently SALVADOR P. LOPEZ, the President of the University of the Philippines, former Ambassador to the United States and to the United Nations, recommended that qualified persons be sought in the Soviet Union for employment as professors at the University of the Philippines, as a way of bettering relations between the two countries. Source said that there have been some demonstrations at the University of the Philippines by radical elements and the recommendation by the University President was made partly to placate these elements and to win the support of radical elements for the party in power.

Source pointed out that the [redacted]

[redacted] belongs to the politically active ROMUALDEZ family. Source added that [redacted]

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[redacted] ISLANDS for Congressman CORNELIO T. VILLAREAL, who is being groomed as a Presidential candidate. Source said that expense in this campaign is no problem, since President FERDINAND E. MARCOS is quite wealthy, while the Philippine Vice-President, FERNANDO LOPEZ, is the [redacted] the Manila Gas and Light Company, and one of the wealthiest men in the entire world. Source stated that it is because of this wealthy background that the government leaders are trying to court the favor of radical elements who may influence the votes of the landless poor. Source said these wealthy politicians have no idea of bringing in a communist or socialist regime which might make them divide their wealth with the poor, but by playing with such "fire" they may cause more trouble than they can control. Source said that communist elements among the Huks and other peasant groups are still factors to be reckoned with and would certainly seek to take advantage of any opportunity which might be given them.

Source stated that because of the danger that Congressman VILLAREAL might become President and would be politically controlled by a combination of wealthy and corrupt politicians and of radical, anti-American opportunists, Senator GENARO F. MAGSAYSAY, brother of the late President MAGSAYSAY, has finally agreed to be a candidate for the Presidency.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN
THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Source said that the anti-communist and pro-American leaders who have been urging Senator MAGSAYSAY to run, believe that the well-known personal integrity of the Senator and the magic of his "MAYSAYSAY" surname will win the election. Source remarked that Senator SERGIO OSMENA is also a candidate for the presidential nomination and a man with strong partisan support among anti-communist and pro-American groups. However, source feels that Senator OSMENA might be defeated by a campaign stressing anti-Americanism and backed by great wealth, whereas the name of Senator MAGSAYSAY would win many votes among the peasantry who recall his illustrious brother.

Source stated that he is particularly upset by the political power held in the Cabinet of President MARCOS by the Secretary of Labor, BLAS F. OPLE. According to the source, Mr. OPLE is well known as a strong advocate of closer relations with Communist China and Soviet Russia.

Source stated that eight of the twenty-four Philippine Senators are up for re-election this Fall. These eight being the following: ALEJANDRO D. ALMENDRAS, JOSE W. DIOKNO, RODOLFO T. GANZON, AMBROSIO PADILLA, GIL J. PUYAT, GERARDO M. ROXAS, ARTURO M. TOLENTINO, and TECLA SANANDRES ZIGA. According to the source, all of the above are members of the Nationalist Party except PADILLA, ROXAS and ZIGO who are members of the Liberal Party. Source stated that the Nationalist Senators, ALMENDRAS and PUYAT, and the Liberal Senator, ROXAS, are men of great integrity and would never abandon the traditional close relationship between the Philippines and the United States out of political expediency. The other senators, both Liberal and Nationalist, the source characterized as politicians who might bend to political winds, with the exception of Senator ZIGA, concerning whom the source is uncertain because of limited knowledge of her political background.

Source stated that if Senator MAGSAYSAY carries the Presidency of the Philippines and a nucleus of statesmen are elected who will control the legislative houses in the best interests of the Philippines, then there will be no danger that the Philippines will forsake friendship with the United States and run the danger of becoming a pawn in the power politics of the Soviet Union.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

C O N F I D E N T I A L

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN
THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Source remarked that Congressman JOSE S. ZAFRA, who is a partner in an American-owned law firm is a person of great personal integrity and a staunch friend of the United States. Source added that Congressman ZAFRA is the brother of the Bishop of Dipoloc, FELIX S. ZAFRA.

Source further stated that RAMON G. GAVIOLA, JR., Chairman of the Social Security Commission of the Philippines, is to be a Candidate for election to the House of Representatives of the Philippines. Source characterized Mr. GAVIOLA as very pro-American and as a person of sterling character, whose fine reputation gained him appointment as head of the National Social Security Commission. Source added that GAVIOLA is the brother of Bishop MARIANO GAVIOLA, Secretary General of the Administrative Council of the Catholic Bishops of the Philippines, and another individual who is a steadfast friend of the United States.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

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DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Washington, D.C.
April 22, 1969

Title COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN
THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Character

Reference Washington, D.C. memorandum
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 5/29/69

FROM: LEGAT, MANILA (105-12) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Re Manila letter, 3/31/69.

Representatives of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) who have been selected to attend the International Communist Conference in Moscow are PLACIDO PASCUAL, Chairman of the Intelligence Division of the CPP, MERLIN MAGALLONA and FRANCISCO NEMENZO, JR. It is expected that NEMENZO will travel from the Philippines to London, England, where he will join MAGALLONA, who is currently visiting in that country, and they will then proceed to Moscow together. PASCUAL is to be accompanied by his wife, who will receive medical treatment in Russia. Although the Conference is scheduled to commence on 6/5/69, PASCUAL has been invited to attend a preparatory meeting to be held in Moscow on 5/23/69. All travel costs of the Philippine delegates to the Conference will be paid by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

A total of \$42,000 in financial assistance has been reportedly received by the CPP since March, 1968, from the CPSU. An additional \$25,000 was to have been contributed by the CPSU in April, 1969.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
CPP member [redacted] has reportedly been sent to Cabaio, Nueva Ecija, Philippines, to establish a school and conduct classes in guerilla warfare, sabotage, and intelligence activity for partisan leaders of the CPP in that province. [redacted] returned to the Philippines in December, 1968, from Russia where he attended a six-month course in Military Science.

The sources furnishing the above information have also disseminated the data to other interested U. S. agencies locally.

REC 12 64-200-239-545

3-Bureau
(1-Liaison Section)
1-Manila

JSL:hke

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 7/31/69

FROM LEGAT, MANILA (105-12) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES

ReMANlet, 5/29/69.

Information has come to light that FELIXBERTO OLALIA and [redacted] former members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), who are currently supporters of JOSE MARIA SISON, travelled to Hong Kong with the intention of entering Communist China. They departed the Philippines on 5/13/69, and returned on 5/18/69. Upon their return, they claimed to have entered Communist China, where they reportedly conferred with officials of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), who promised to furnish financial assistance in the amount of one million dollars to the JOSE MARIA SISON group. The JOSE MARIA SISON group is composed of former CPP members who support Chinese Communist ideology in opposition to the neutral stand taken by the CPP in the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute.

In spite of claims by OLALIA and [redacted] that they entered Communist China, the CPP contends that they conferred in Hong Kong with CCP officials who met the Filipinos there and not in Communist China.

Following a public statement by Philippine Senator ARTURO M. TOLENTINO that any political party, pro-Communist or not, could be registered in the Philippines as long as such an organization did not declare an intention to overthrow the Philippine Government, there has been talk among CPP members regarding the legalization of the CPP. It is said that one of the primary aims of a legalized CPP would be to force United States military and economic interests out of the Philippines, and to encourage Soviet aid to achieve that end.

3-Bureau
(1-Foreign Liaison)
1-Manila

64-200-239-555

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REC 36

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58 AUG 27 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

MAN 105-12

Communist front organizations, among which the most conspicuous was the Kabataang Makabayan (KM), the extremist youth and student group, participated in anti-American demonstrations on 7/26/69 during the visit of the U. S. President, RICHARD M. NIXON, to the Philippines. (Those demonstrations are being reported in detail in another file.)

The sources furnishing the above information have also disseminated the data to other interested U. S. agencies locally.

ENCLOSURE

64-200-239-556

back of page

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/17/69

FROM

LEGAT, HONG KONG (105-5581)(RUC)

SUBJECT:

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

ReHONlet 9/30/69.

No information has been received on captioned
subject since relet and case is being placed in RUC status
at Hong Kong. Pertinent information will be forwarded upon
receipt.

3 - Bu
(1-Liaison)
1 - HON
DAG:ec
(4)

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64-200-239-557

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NAT. INT. SEC.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lbg

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FEB 9 1970

JAN 27 5 24 PM 1970
LAWSON SECTION, FBI

JAN 29 1970

NOT RECORDED

REC-6

44-210-2358

Political Matters
Phil. Is.

REC 12 64-200-239-589

10 MAR 12 1970

MAR 9 5 20 PM 1970
LIAISON SECTION, FBI

60 MAR 20 1970
F223

back of page

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lag

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/31/70

FROM : LEGAT, HONG KONG (105-5581) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES

ReHONlet, 11/17/69.

There have been no reports of participation by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), as an organization, in recent demonstrations and riots in the Philippines. However, it is assumed that the CPP is in support of the dissidents engaging in such activity.

The most recent significant occurrence involving the CPP was the release from prison on 1/4/70 of five Politburo members of the CPP, JOSE LAVA, FEDERICO BAUTISTA, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. They had been arrested on 10/12/50 and charged with rebellion. On 5/11/51, they were sentenced by a Manila Court to life imprisonment. A judicial decision in May, 1969, reduced the sentences and paved the way for the release of the prisoners. b6 b7c

Upon regaining his freedom, JOSE LAVA was quoted as having declared: "I entered the prison as a Communist and I will go out a Communist".

Philippine authorities contend that the five released men advocate the non-violent overthrow of the government as opposed to those urging armed revolution, and that they did not pose a great threat to the Philippine Government. The authorities indicated, however, that the activities of those released would be closely monitored.

(3-Bureau

NOV 27 1972

(1-Foreign Liaison)

1-Hong Kong

55 APR 20 1970

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(4)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sic/lsg

64-200-239-561

-B-



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.
May 21, 1970

~~SECRET~~



b6
b7C

In April, 1970, a source advised that [redacted]
[redacted] who is affiliated with the
Socialist Youth Union, there, had been in touch with New Left
revolutionary elements in the United States.

According to the source, [redacted] complained that the
Philippine Government, which he described as a "fascist regime,"
has utilized postal authorities and thousands of police to
harrass progressives. [redacted] indicated that Philippine police
have raided the headquarters of progressive organizations, but
that his organization, the Socialist Youth Union, has escaped
such raids because he and his associates have managed to be
more discreet in their activities. [redacted] expressed the hope
that revolutionary comrades in the United States would make
known the struggle of their brothers in the Philippines,
telling how hundreds of thousands of students, workers and
peasants, led by progressives, lined the streets, marched upon
the Philippine Government, and attacked the American Embassy,
protesting against fascism, imperialism and local feudalism.
[redacted] indicated that progressives in the Philippines had
established a "parliament in the streets" and had convoked a
"People's Tribunal" in a local plaza, to show it was time for
a complete change instead of ordinary reforms.

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~~SECRET~~

Group I - Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification

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44-200-239-561



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
May 21, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

Title

b6
b7C

Character

Reference

Washington, D.C. memorandum
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

SAC, San Francisco (100-22479)

6/19/70

Director, FBI (105-174254)

~~SECRET~~

1 -
1 -

Mr. Ryan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS
(RESEARCH SECTION)

ACCOMMODATION ADDRESS - MANILA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~COMMUNIST PARTY~~

ReSFlat 5/21/70 captioned "Communist Activities in
the Philippine Islands. IS-Misc." enclosing LHM of the same
date captioned [redacted] (71)

b6
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b1
b3

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-174254

Information relating to the Manila accommodation
address has been previously furnished to you by Bulet 5/7/69,
under above caption, but copy designated for the RU file, and
by copies of Legat, Manila, letters under above caption dated
6/3/69 and 8/11/69 which were forwarded by routing slips
dated 6/17/69 and 8/20/69 respectively. (X) (71)

1 - San Francisco (105-882)

1 - 64-200-239

DR:sfw
(7)

5-2-85
Classified by SP7 MAC/UP
Declassify on: OADR
(5-14-85)

Classified by 6136
Exempt from GDS, Category 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite

64-200-239

NOT RECORDED

JUN 23 1970

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(6)
DATE 09-20-2012

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

DUPLICATE YELLOW

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PMS
JUN 25 1970

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DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

64-200-239-563, 564, 565
CHANGED TO
105-234261-X, X1, X2

NOV 27 1972

BC / BUB

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(1-27-72)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lag

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 10/16/72

FROM : Legat, Hong Kong (105-5581)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES

File:

Due to opening of the Manila Office, the following action is being taken in captioned matter:

(a) Location of File

(1) ☒ Entire file transferred to Manila herewith.

(2) ☐ File transferred to _____ except copy of following serials retained at Hong Kong:

(3) ☐ File retained at Hong Kong but copy of following serials transferred to _____:

(b) Status

(1) At Hong Kong: ☐ Pending ☒ RUC

(2) At Manila: ☐ Pending ☒ RUC

1 - Bureau

1 - Manila

1 - Hong Kong

RVP: il

(3)

54 NOV 25 1972

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NOT RECORDED

OCT 31 1972

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lbg

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81)

DATE: 9/1

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33729)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS - C
(OO: NY)

Re Chicago letter dated 8/15/72, captioned
"SOLO, IS - C," (Bufile 100-428091).

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original
and three copies and for the New York Office five copies of
a letterhead memorandum entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
PHILIPPINES REQUEST FOR AID FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA."

The information appearing in the enclosed letter-
head memorandum was orally furnished on September 5, 1972,
by [redacted] to SAs [redacted]

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified
Secret since unauthorized disclosure of the information set
forth therein could reasonably result in the identification
of this source, thus adversely affecting the national
security.

In order to further protect the identity of this
source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown
as being prepared at Washington, D. C.

[redacted] advised he obtained the information in
the enclosed letterhead memorandum during the period
September 1 - 4, 1972, in discussion with GUS HALL, General
Secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)

5 - New York (RM)

(1 - 100-86624) (CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

(1 - 100-74560) (CPUSA - FUNDS)

(1 - 100-84994) (GUS HALL)

(1 - 100-7658) (LEM HARRIS)

2 - Chicago

WAB:CMS
(9)

ENCLOSURE

51 SEP 25 1972

ENCLOSURE

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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9-18-72

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JWA: DWA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.
September 11, 1972

Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
REQUEST FOR AID FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

Reference is made to memorandum dated August 15, 1972, captioned as above.

Referenced memorandum advised that the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has requested the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) to furnish aid, preferably in cash or medicine, to an organization known as "Operasyon: Sagip" ("Operation: Save") established by the CPP to provide relief for victims of the recent floods in the Philippines during September, 1972. A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that CPUSA has established a small committee for the purpose of collecting such relief for the CPP. This committee is headed by Lement Harris, a long-time member of the CPUSA. Harris was authorized by the CPUSA to make an immediate donation of \$500, but the source was unable to advise whether Harris has in fact sent this sum to the CPP.

~~SECRET~~

~~Group I
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matic downgrading
and declassification~~

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64-200-239-

ENCLOSURE

~~ENCLOSURE~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

FROM : ACTING SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-26375)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
IS - PHILIPPINES

DATE: 11/10/72

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 11/8/71, captioned "REVOLUTIONARY UNION", which advised that [redacted] had furnished information indicating the Revolutionary Union (RU) had been receiving press releases and literature from the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) for several months.

Enclosed for the Bureau are twelve (12) copies of

[redacted] Also enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) xeroxed copies, each, of the following eight publications of the CCP:

~~MEMBER OF~~ SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

1. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 8/4/72, entitled: "EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON THE DELUGE IN LUZON" and "CHINA'S TEN CARDINAL PRINCIPLES ON AMENDING 'DECLARATION ON HUMAN ENVIRONMENT'" (The first section declares the severe floods resulted from deforestation "under the U.S. imperialist policy of counter-insurgency". The second part

32
Bureau (Encls. 28) (RM)
(2 - Legat, Manila)
(1 - 105-184369) (RU)

- 4 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-26375)
(1 - 105-882) (Philippine Activities)
(1 - 100-61281) (RU)

JES/pkv (S-7)

(10) 2 cc each to Manila by O-7 (info)
1 cc each sent to CIA (courtesy), & State
11-22-72 JRS/rep

ENC. BEHIND FILE

57 DEC 11 1972

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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SF 100-26375
JES/pkv

quotes from the "Peking Review" of 6/23/72, the statement of the Chinese delegations to the U.N. Conference on the Human Environment.)

2. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 8/5/72, entitled: "SEVEN BSDU MEMBERS JOIN THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY" (This includes translation and facimile of the letter of the seven Barrio Self-Defense Unit members dated 7/18/72.)
3. "Ang Bayan", Vol. IV, No. 3, dated 8/6/72 (This has 47 pages of text.)
4. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 8/24/72, entitled: "REACTIONARY ARMED FORCES AND LAVA REVISIONIST RENEGADES UNLEASH PUT-UP BOMBINGS AND SHOOT-OUTS IN THE MANILA-RIZAL REGION" (This release claims that the Philippine Government had fabricated an ambush, so as to provide an excuse for imposing martial law.)
5. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 8/28/72, entitled: "ON THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON PARITY RIGHTS" (This holds that although the Philippine Supreme Court appears to have made a good ruling against American landholding in the Philippines, yet it has not denied compensation to the American landholder.)
6. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 9/8/72, captioned: "STATEMENT ON THE PSY-WAR CAMPAIGN OF THE U.S.-MARCOS CLIQUE" (This release accuses the Philippine Government of psychological warfare in blaming the CCP for bombing atrocities.)
7. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 10/1/72, entitled: "OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY" (This is a 13 page statement by the CCP concerning its reaction to and plans to counteract the Philippine Government's declaration of martial law.)
8. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 10/12/72, entitled: "DICTATOR MARCOS USES CON-CON TO REMAIN IN POWER AFTER 1973" (This declares that the Philippine Constitutional Convention is simply a method by which President MARCOS can retain control of the government.)

SF 100-26375
JES/pkv

Source mentioned in the enclosed LHM is [redacted]
who is contacted daily (except weekends) by SA [redacted]

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Enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to further
protect the identity of [redacted] a source of continuing
value who could possibly suffer financial loss and physical
harm were his cooperation with the FBI to become known.
Unauthorized disclosure of his identity could reasonably be
expected to cause damage to the national security.

b7D



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 10, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

(Dateline at Washington, D.C.)

On various occasions during the period September, 1971, through August, 1972, a source advised that a revolutionary group in the United States was regularly receiving the "English Edition" of the publication, "Ang Bayan", which is self-identified as published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. According to the source, a "Special Release" of "Ang Bayan" appears to be published irregularly, sometimes several times in one month, and later these releases usually are included in a regular issue of "Ang Bayan". The regular issues and the special releases all are produced on legal-sized paper, and the initial page of each bears a heading which is reproduced below:

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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EXEMPT FROM GENERAL
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OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY II
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED
ON - INDEFINITE

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

The source has advised that the issues and special releases of "Ang Bayan" were sent airmail from the Philippines and that up until October, 1972, all wrappers or envelopes noted by the source bore the postmark of the Makati Commercial Center, Rizal, Philippines. Source added that most of these wrappers or envelopes did not bear a return address, but that on one or two occasions, he noted the return address:

~~P.O. Box 80
Makati Commercial Center
Makati, Rizal
Philippines~~

On October 30, 1972, source advised that the revolutionary organization in the United States had received a copy of "Ang Bayan" consisting of 47 mimeographed pages, dated August 6, 1972 and numbered, Vol. IV, No. 3, in an envelope which had been postmarked October 26, 1972 at Manila, Philippines and which bore the return address:

✓ Quasha Asperilla Blanco Zafra & Tayag Law Offices
Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank Building
Juan Luna, Manila, Philippines

On November 3, 1972, the source advised that the revolutionary organization in the United States had received two Special Releases of "Ang Bayan" in an envelope which had been postmarked October 30, 1972 at Quezon City in the Philippines and which bore the return address:

~~Tomas P. Matic, Jr. Law Office
Gochango Bldg.,
Manila
Philippines~~ *SHIL. IS.*

One of the two "Ang Bayan" releases received in the envelope postmarked October 30, 1972, was a two page release dated October 12, 1972, captioned: "DICTATOR MARCOS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

USES CON-CON TO REMAIN IN POWER AFTER 1973". This release declares that a "Marcos-dominated constitutional convention" is drafting a "bogus constitution" which will permit the Philippines President to remain in office and preside over the ad interim national assembly. The release declares: "The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is interested in using this bogus constitution as a fig leaf for both its usurpation and perpetuation of absolute power by naked armed force against the people's will". The last paragraph of this special release begins with the following statement: "The Filipino proletariat and its revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, are determined to complete the people's democratic revolution through a protracted people's war."

The other Special Release which was received in the envelope postmarked October 30, 1972, was dated October 1, 1972 and captioned: "OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY". It consists of 13 legal-sized pages in small print and is a lengthy statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, setting forth its response to the proclamation of martial law by the Philippine Government. The release declares that "This proclamation is in effect the formal declaration of civil war by the U.S.-Marcos Clique against the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it is in the final analysis the death sentence for its criminal authors because the people shall win in the end through revolutionary struggle."

The last section of this statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, starting on page 10 of the "Ang Bayan" release dated October 1, 1972, discusses what that party plans to do to counteract the declaration of martial law and to defeat the Philippine Government. Xeroxed reproduction of this section is set out on the following pages of instant communication:

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the New Situation

The setting up of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship through the declaration of an "unlimited form of martial law" and under the fascist principle that "all power can be given to the military" has brought about a new situation. Through the crude employment of armed coercion, dictator Marcos as commander-in-chief has arrogated unto himself and concentrated in his hands all executive, legislative and judicial powers. All of these powers are used not only against the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army but also against the broad masses of the people and all opposition to the perpetuation of a fascist dictatorship. Upon the setting up of this fascist dictatorship, the objective conditions for a civil war of a national scale have arisen. The entire Filipino people vehemently condemn the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship as anti-national, anti-republican, anti-democratic and decadent and are more determined than ever before to struggle for national democracy and, therefore, for a genuine republic that belongs to them.

It has long been pointed out and stressed to the U.S.-Marcos clique that people's war is the answer to martial law. Now that martial law is here, large masses of revolutionary militants and allied leaders of various forces all over the country have gone underground or have gone to the countryside from cities and towns and are resolutely taking every possible and necessary step to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Many times more than the previous suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the setting up of the fascist dictatorship has resulted in an increase of men and women eager and ready to do their share of fighting in the battlefield. With every national and democratic right suppressed, the broad masses of the people have more deeply realized the need to support or participate in people's war. The revolutionary stand of the Communist Party of the Philippines that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle at the present national democratic stage of the Philippine revolution has never before been clearer than now.

In the new situation, there are three things that stand out. First, the Communist Party of the Philippines is the most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle that calls for the armed overthrow of the fascist government. Second, the Party has the strongest and most experienced revolutionary army, the New People's Army. Third, the ranks of the revolutionary movement have greatly expanded and fighting

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

10 -

cadres as well as allies are all over the archipelago determined to conduct people's war. These things would not have stood out as clearly as now were it not for the fascist viciousness of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the party most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle because it is the most prepared to do so ideologically, politically and organizationally. By virtue of its adherence to and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, it can be relied upon to fight steadfastly in a protracted people's war and to deal with the problems of the Philippine revolution in the most comprehensive and correct manner. By virtue of its revolutionary politics, it can be relied upon to serve the toiling masses of workers and peasants, respect the legitimate interests of the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie and mobilize the biggest mass force to overthrow the tyrannical regime. By virtue of its organizational strength, it has emerged practically unscathed from the vicious blows so far made by the enemy under Proclamation No. 1081.

In so many years, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have been the target of all kinds of enemy operations and task forces and yet they have not only managed to preserve themselves and destroy the enemy part by part but have become even stronger through revolutionary struggle. To ensure the growth and development of people's war as a mass undertaking, the Party has indefatigably created Party branches and groups, organs of political power, mass organizations, people's organizing committees and various forms of fighting units such as the militia, the local guerrillas and the regular mobile (or several guerrilla units concentrated at appropriate times for big operations or a campaign of several battles). In the countryside, the Party is at the core of the New People's Army and is also in the localities and has gained wide support from the peasant masses and inhabitants of towns, provincial capitals and small cities. In the cities, the Party has carefully developed an underground for the worst of emergencies and has at the same time developed unbreakable links with the workers, the urban petty bourgeois and others.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

While we consider the present situation far more favorable to the revolutionary movement than ever before, we should not relax in the false belief that the objective conditions are enough to carry us forward. We have to build up the revolutionary forces courageously, not only by using the principal form of struggle which is armed struggle in the countryside but also by employing effective underground methods in the cities and towns and by using every possible means, legal and otherwise, to facilitate coordination of efforts, propaganda work, intelligence and internal communications as well as communications with allies throughout the archipelago. We should avoid rashness in our actions because the fascist dictatorship carries with it the license to do the worst possible harm against the Party, people's army and the people. We should advance carefully and steadily.

The democratic Party of the Philippines is determined to join hands with all those who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. All those who are interested in achieving national freedom and democracy are welcome in joining with the Party in a broad national democratic front. Those who may participate in this united front are the democratic classes and strata, parties, groups and individuals. Independence and initiative are enjoyed by participants in this united front. But the single common objective of all is to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and institute a truly national and democratic regime. The success of the national democratic front can pave the way for a national coalition government where the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are fairly and justly

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

- 11

represented. The Party's Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution and also the ten-point guide drafted by the Party in connection with the drawing up of the programme of the National Democratic Front should be referred to as guide for forming a national alliance or local alliances of revolutionary forces.

In addition, we are hereby making a pledge to ourselves, to all our allies and to all our countrymen in the context of our programme for a people's democratic revolution:

1. To join up with all forces that are opposed to the fascist dictatorship of the U.S.-Marcos clique and conduct a firm revolutionary struggle to overthrow it;
2. To strengthen the New People's Army, boldly organize guerrilla units all over the archipelago and draw all possible cooperation from everyone opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship;
3. To help re-establish the democratic rights of all anti-fascist forces, including individuals, political parties, trade unions, mass organizations, mass media, religious organizations and all other people, and to take all steps towards a democratic coalition government;
4. To fight for the nullification of all acts of the fascist dictatorship that favor U.S. imperialism and the Marcos fascist clique, and to make possible the abrogation of all unequal treaties and agreements with the United States, especially those pertaining to direct investments, military bases, military assistance, military aggression and cultural aggression;
5. To pave the way for the arrest, trial before a people's court and punishment of the dictator Marcos and his dihard accomplices for the setting up of a fascist dictatorship, bloody crimes against the people and enrichment in office, and make possible the confiscation of all ill-gotten wealth (capital holdings and landholdings) of the Marcos fascist clique and likewise those of all U.S. imperialist firms and agencies collaborating with it; and
6. To welcome to the revolutionary ranks those officers and men of the reactionary armed forces who turn at any time against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, provided they are not a mere faction of the military directed by U.S. imperialism to groom another puppet dictator.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Hereunder are a number of guidelines for developing or dealing with the various forces opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship:

1. The Party should vigorously fulfill its 1972 organizational and educational plan. Despite what appears to be the tightening of the situation due to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the fact is that the entire country has been made far more fertile than before for revolutionary seeding and growth. There is a great need for cadres and their nationwide deployment. So, the Central Committee is seeing to it that cadres are dispatched from certain regions to other regions. The correct relationship between expansion and consolidation and between the number of cadres in urban areas and that in the rural areas must be settled from time to time by regional party committees in their respective territories. They must take more initiative in building the Party, the New People's Army and the united front. Stress must be laid on mass work. The gauge of achievement is the quantity and quality of Party branches and groups, fighting units of the New People's Army, organs of political power, people's organizing committees and mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and cultural activists. Due to the emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, special attention must be paid to improving underground methods, especially in cities and towns, and in maintaining links over extensive areas.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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2. The Party should assign more cadres of workers as well as petty-bourgeois background to the New People's Army. Those who can no longer conduct legal work or underground work in cities and towns should be dispatched to the people's army through the various regional Party committees. The people's army is the Party's principal form of organization and should be built as such. Party branches should be established at the company level or platoon level as the case may be and Party groups at the squad level and, in addition, Party branches should be established in localities. The main objective of the fascist dictatorship in the countryside today is the suppression of the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses. We should be good at preserving ourselves by destroying the enemy (fascist troops, spies, local tyrants and bad elements) on the wider scale of the countryside. The New People's Army is based mainly on the peasant masses, the majority class in Philippine society. Special attention should therefore be paid to realizing a genuine land reform program among them. Nothing will ever come out of the decree of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship proclaiming the implementation of the reactionary "land reform code" all over the country, except intensified feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression and, therefore, intensified resistance by the peasant masses. Whenever possible, land should be distributed free to the tillers who do not own land or who do not have enough. The nonpayment of land rent and other related measures can easily be effected when the peasant masses have been sufficiently aroused, organized and mobilized on a wide scale. This is also the best way of creating stable base areas. Wherever the Guerrilla units of the New People's Army are, the least that should be done for the welfare of the peasant masses is to reduce land rent, eliminate usury and initiate mutual aid and exchange of labor. Peasant associations, with poor and lower middle peasants prevailing, should be established. Local militia units and guerrilla units should also be raised from the peasant ranks so as to defend their democratic gains. From the ranks of the guerrilla units, we draw the Red fighters for the regular mobile forces of the New People's Army.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

3. The Party should continue to build revolutionary trade unions and other suitable organizations (including open associations and secret workers' organizing committees) among the workers in workplaces and communities, despite the fascist ban on mass organizations and strikes. However, care must always be taken to prevent the enemy from identifying Party cadres and members. The more the fascist dictatorship madly goes after all kinds of workers' organizations, the more it will aggravate its already isolated position. The longer the workers' rights are suppressed, the more will the workers become fearless of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Their wages are buying less and less. They are also under greater threat of unemployment. The fascist dictatorship is mad enough to prevent the workers indefinitely from demanding through their unions and through strikes better working and living conditions. The violent suppression of workers' unions and strikes can only yield more determined fighters for the revolutionary cause, provided the Party does well its duty of arousing and mobilizing the workers. The Party should organize the workers in factories, mines, haciendas and other areas and raise their political consciousness in the light of the current political and economic crisis. Workers are quick in grasping the Marxist-Leninist ideology, provided this is properly communicated to them by Party cadres. The Party should accelerate its efforts to build Party branches in the workers' places of work and communities. Trade union work should always be combined with ideological and political work.

4. The Party should vigorously arouse and mobilize the student masses against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Although the democratic-cultural revolution has already brought out a high degree of militance among them, the student masses could

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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be further guided by the Party in the new situation so that they can link up with the broad masses of the people and deliver the most effective blows against the fascist dictatorship. If it were not for the fear of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship of the student masses, the schools should have been opened on the Monday following Proclamation No. 1081. But the closure of schools for sometime cannot stop the student masses from recognizing what is wrong and acting against it. The longer the schools are closed, the more ready are the student masses for mass actions. First, the probing mass actions and other propaganda activities; then increasingly bigger mass actions. Various forms of open student organizations and underground coordinating committees can be set up to defy the fascist ban on basic democratic rights. In the case of quite a number of student leaders and other youth leaders, who are blacklisted and who will only be immobilized upon arrest, it is the Party's policy to dispatch them to the countryside or the underground, so long as they are already Party members or are willing to become Red fighters even if they are not yet Party members or even candidate members. Party groups which are in the midst of the student masses should systematically deploy groups of students to various provinces and towns to condemn the fascist dictatorship and arouse the people.

5. The Party should encourage not only the student masses but also all other sections of the intelligentsia to assert their national and democratic rights and speak out their views against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is anti-national to allow foreign-owned mass media like those owned by the Soriano's to make propaganda in support of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and at the same time prevent the Filipino people from speaking out their minds. It is anti-democratic to have only those reports and views supporting a fascist dictatorship disseminated. Teachers at all levels should be persuaded to propagate the national and democratic line among

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their co-teachers, students and the people and not to make anti-communist propaganda which would only serve to prolong the life of fascist dictatorship in the country. Special efforts should be exerted to get the active support of public school teachers. All government civilian employees should resist attempts of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to shift public funds to the military from their departments, disregard their civil service eligibilities or turn over their functions to military personnel. Like the teachers and ordinary government civilian employees, all professionals (doctors, nurses, engineers, journalists, lawyers and others) should be won over to the anti-fascist united front. If positive and progressive, their political influence on many other people is of great value to the revolution. Their direct services and material contribution to the revolution are much needed. The most progressive elements in the ranks of the intelligentsia can become Party members.

6. The Party should, aside from the intelligentsia, win over other sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In many various ways, they can extend practical support to the revolutionary cause. They can help spread the correct political line against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and they can also extend material support to the revolutionary movement. They are hard-pressed by the political and economic crisis worsening under the fascist dictatorship. The Party should consider the entire petty bourgeoisie as a basic motive force in the national democratic revolution and win it over in order to tilt the balance securely in favor of the revolutionary side.

7. The Party should win over members of the national bourgeoisie, in the cities and in the countryside, to give political and material support to the revolutionary movement. Since they themselves cannot be expected to bear arms against the enemy, they can extend to the revolutionary movement

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support in cash or kind or allow use of their facilities.

The Party should protect their legitimate interests against the wanton assaults of U.S. imperialism and the puppet dictatorship. The national bourgeoisie can join the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front and it will be amply represented in the national coalition government to be set up in the future.

8. The Party should support the struggle for self-determination or autonomy and also for democracy among the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao who have taken up arms. The armed struggle of the Maguindanaos, Maranaos, Tirurays, Tausugs and others is very significant. Efforts should be exerted in developing revolutionary forces in various parts of Mindanao, especially those outside of the "Muslim" areas; and unity between the national minorities and the poor settlers everywhere should be aimed for in accordance with the general line of national democratic revolution. The armed struggle in Mindanao can be so coordinated with the revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon and the Visayas that the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship would become exhausted from running to and fro, from far south to far north of the archipelago and vice versa. It should be the general policy of the Party all over the country to welcome all national minorities into the ranks of the revolutionary movement and to develop Party cadres and Red fighters among them.

9. The Party should seek and develop an anti-fascist united front at every possible level with the Liberal Party, with certain sections of the Nacionalista Party and various political groups and figures who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The attempt of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to monopolize power in the country has seriously harmed or put a serious threat to the interests of other reaction-

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aries. The violent split developing among the reactionaries has been obvious since the emergence of the "private armies" and especially since the second Plaza Miranda massacre. Although the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will try to create the myth of "bipartisan" support for the "Marcos party", the political and economic contradictions among the reactionaries cannot be erased. There are various ways of cooperating with other political groups and figures. Since the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bent on disarming them at any cost, they might as well contribute or merely lend their arms to the New People's Army. They can also advise their following to cooperate with the people's army and they can give other kinds of material support. In return, such legitimate interests of theirs as those which do not harm the people can be protected. In cases where there are already armed groups fighting or determined to fight the fascist dictatorship, the New People's Army should be willing to reorganize them or integrate them into its ranks or simply coordinate with them as the case may be.

10. The Party should seek and develop an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front with religious groups and semi-religious groups that are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is noteworthy that there are a considerable number of patriotic and progressive priests and ministers who have merited being in the fascist blacklist. It must be always borne in mind that there are religious people who do not agree with the Party's ideology but who would agree with the Party's political programme and line.

11. The Party should draw all possible support from Filipinos abroad, especially the half-a-million Filipino immigrant workers, professionals and students in the United States. Together with their American and other foreign friends, they can form committees and associations, engage in mass actions and raise funds for their own propaganda activities all in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Eventually, they will

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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be able to channel their material support to the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. Revolutionary friends of the Filipino people all over the world should also be encouraged to initiate committees and associations in support of the Filipino revolutionary struggle. The Filipino people should get all possible international support in the same spirit and manner as other peoples have done for their own revolutionary struggles. The peoples of the world are profoundly interested in the victory of the Philippine revolution against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. The Party should be guided by the lofty principle of proletarian internationalism in this regard.

12. The Party should perseveringly conduct by various means revolutionary propaganda among the officers and troops of the reactionary armed forces. Quite a number of them are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. As a matter of fact, there are three definite trends in the reactionary armed forces: the first one consists of those who support the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and who are gloating at the chance to abuse the people; the second one consists of those who oppose the Marcos fascist gang but who wish to have it replaced by coup d'etat with another reactionary regime which they consider "democratic"; and the third one consists of those who oppose the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and who agree with the principles of the Corpus-Taganolila Movement. The second trend can be subdivided into two: one is biding its time for the near-collapse of the Marcos fascist clique and will move only with assurances from U.S. imperialism; the other has various notions of anti-imperialism. Enemy officers and troops who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship should be encouraged to take the people's side and take the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist line. They can bring over their arms and join the New People's Army or temporarily establish and lead guerrilla units until such time that they can establish relations with the people's

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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army. The Party should also see to it that the policy of leniency is taken on captive enemy officers and men in order to disintegrate the reactionary armed forces. As the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship conscripts more troops and the people's suffering becomes even more unbearable, there will be more enemy officers and men who will recognize what is right and what is wrong and will gladly turn their arms against the people's exploiters and oppressors.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the New People's Army which it leads, declares that conditions for revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside have been tremendously enhanced by the emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Whereas before Proclamation No. 1081 only certain limited parts of the country were battlefields, these can now be boldly expanded throughout the archipelago. Furthermore, whereas before this proclamation it was not yet timely to launch certain limited forms of military operations in urban areas, these can now be done with due consideration given to the strategic line that the revolutionary forces will seize the cities from rural base areas.

The broad masses of the people know how to deal with a mad bull like the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and they are determined to encircle it with the flames of people's war. The day will surely come when the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is turned to ashes and is finally consigned to the garbage heap of history. By that time, the comprehensive revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall have become a gigantic force, capable of carrying the Philippine revolution through to the end.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

October 1, 1972

16*

C O N F I D E N T I A L



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 10, 1972

Title	COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - PHILIPPINES
Reference	San Francisco memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

FBI

Date: 11/30/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-5474)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FINANCES
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel to Indianapolis and San Francisco dated 11/12/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM reflecting investigation conducted by the San Francisco Division.

This LHM has been classified ~~confidential~~ to protect sources whose identification or compromise could effect the National Defense adversely.

The following sources were contacted concerning their knowledge of any BPP funds being presently donated to the Philippine CP:

AGENCY: ICDSO, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ISD, IDIU, CD/5204

(T-16) HOW FORW: BIS

DATE FORW: 12/4/70

(T-22) BY: ABE/lat

2-Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
2-San Francisco (157-5474)
1-157-1485
GLP:st
(4)

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

4 DEC 3 1970

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

MAGIP/IT. SECT.

66DEC 21 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-3692

b6
b7C
b7D

SF 157-5474

GLP:st

San Francisco Division continues to audit on a monthly basis bank accounts controlled by the BPP and closely follow all BPP financial transactions.

Any information received concerning donations being made by the BPP to the Philippine CP will be immediately disseminated to the Bureau.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 30, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -FINANCES

Officials of the banks in the San Francisco area which are presently handling accounts belonging to the Black Panther Party (BPP), were contacted through issuance of the monthly subpoena duces tecum and could furnish no information concerning any checks written by the BPP to the Philippine Communist Party.

ISLANDS
San Francisco sources which in the past have possessed knowledge concerning BPP finances, were contacted and unable to furnish any positive information concerning donations or a promise of donations presently being made by the BPP to the Philippine Communist Party.

DECLASSIFIED ON 7-27-78

BY 6922 WAP/Kab

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD
OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP
ON 7-27-78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group 1

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declassification

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1*
ENCLOSURE

64 200-139-
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 1/5/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-26375) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES

Philippine Islands

Re San Francisco letter dated 11/10/72 and LHM of same date but datelined at Washington, D.C.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10) copies of an

Also enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10) xeroxed copies, each, of the following five publications of the CCP:

1. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 9/9/72 entitled: "NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY THWARTS ENEMY CAMPAIGN OF 'ENCIRCLEMENT AND SUPPRESSION' IN NORTHERN LUZON FROM NOVEMBER 1971 TO MAY 1972" (This consists of four pages).
2. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 10/1/72, entitled: "OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY" (This is a 13 page statement by the Central

6 - Bureau (Encls. 60) (RM) REC-73
(2 - Legat, Manila)
(1 - 105-184369) (RU) FK-17
(1 - [redacted])
1 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-26375)
(1 - 105-882) (Philippine Activities)
(1 - 100-61281) (RU)
(1 - [redacted])

JES/pkv (S-7)
(10)

1cc - CIA } with
1cc - State } Enclosures

2cc - Lett & Lcc - encl to Legat, Manila - info
2-13-73 JRW/mb

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



5010-108-01

NAT. INT. SEC.
DOC. CLASS. OFFICE
CROSS
TRB

Unrec copy and copy of encl. filed in

SF 100-26375
JES/pkv

Committee of the CPP concerning its reaction to and its plans to counteract the Philippine Government's declaration of marital law).

3. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 11/1/72 entitled: "MARCOS LAND REFORM--A BIG HOAX" (This consists of five pages).
4. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 11/15/72 entitled: "REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP" (This is a three page issue).
5. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 12/5/72 entitled: "THE 'NEW CONSTITUTION' IS A LICENSE OF THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO FURTHER OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT THE FILIPINO PEOPLE" (This is a 12 page statement of the Central Committee of the CPP issued 12/3/72 which discusses the new constitution developed by the Philippines Constitutional Convention and calls for its rejection by the Filipino people).

Source mentioned in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] who is contacted daily (except weekends) by SA [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to further protect the identity of [redacted] a source of continuing value who could possibly suffer financial loss and physical harm were his cooperation with the FBI to become known. Unauthorized disclosure of his identity could reasonably be expected to cause damage to the national security.

San Francisco will continue to advise the Bureau of items which the RU may receive from captioned organization.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.

January 5, 1973

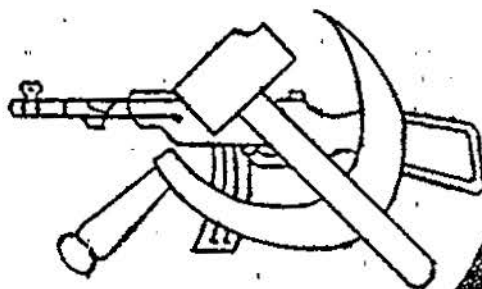
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

During December, 1972, a source made available five issues of the "English Edition" of "Ang Bayan", which is self-identified as published by the Communist Party of the Philippines. According to the source, these publications had been received by a revolutionary organization in the United States in envelopes which bore the postmark, "Greenhills Post Office, Rizal, Philippines". These publications were produced on legal-sized paper, and the first page of each is headed as follows:

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Bayan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CLASSIFIED BY~~

~~EXEMPT FROM GENERAL
DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE
OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY II
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED
ON - INDEFINITE~~

b6
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

64-200-239-570

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

According to the source, none of the envelopes in which these issues of "Ang Bayan" were received bore any return address except that in which the issue dated December 5, 1972 was received. Source noted that this envelope, which was postmarked December 14, 1972 at Greenhills Post Office, Rizal, Philippines, bore the printed return address:

~~FILRITERS GUARANTY ASSURANCE CORPORATION
P.O. BOX 2566, MANILA~~

The five mentioned issues of "Ang Bayan" are described as follows:

Special Release dated September 9, 1972 entitled: "NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY THWARTS ENEMY CAMPAIGN OF 'ENCIRCLEMENT AND SUPPRESSION' IN NORTHERN LUZON FROM NOVEMBER 1971 to MAY 1972". This is a four page publication with two sub-headings, "A Record of Significant Victories" and "Unity of the Army and the People - Guarantee of Victory". It states that "...the U.S.-Marcos clique had vainly hoped to destroy the guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones..." and that "For the first time in Northern Luzon, the U.S. imperialists employed American military personnel to participate in the campaign." The issue concludes with the statement: "Following firmly the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the broad masses of Red commanders and fighters are ever more determined to keep the Red flag flying and make more and greater contributions to the nation-wide advance of the people's democratic revolution."

Special Release dated October 1, 1972 entitled: "OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY". Source noted that the revolutionary organization which received these issues of "Ang Bayan" had previously received a copy of this Special Release, which consists of 13 legal-sized pages in small print and is a lengthy statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, setting forth its response to the proclamation of martial law by the Philippine Government.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

The release declares that "This proclamation is in effect the formal declaration of civil war by the U.S.-Marcos Clique against the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it is in the final analysis the death sentence for its criminal authors because the people shall win in the end through revolutionary struggle." The last section of this statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, starting on page 10 of the "Ang Bayan" release dated October 1, 1972, discusses what that party plans to do to counteract the declaration of martial law and to overthrow the Philippine Government.

Special Release dated November 1, 1972 captioned: ~~"MARCOS LAND REFORM--A BIG HOAX"~~. This is a five page publication which begins with the statement: "The land reform touted by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship as the 'cornerstone' of or chief pretext for its unjust and indefinite rule is a big hoax".

Special Release dated November 15, 1972 captioned: ~~"REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP"~~. This is a three page publication which starts with the statement: "The revolutionary propaganda movement against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship continues to gain momentum despite severe fascist restrictions". Elsewhere in this issue it is claimed that within a short period after the "revolutionary mass organizations" were forced to go underground by the imposition of martial law, and especially after the statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines on October 1, many revolutionary publications have been "effectively circulated". This issue of "Ang Bayan" lists some such publications and discusses other actions taken by various groups to protest the imposition of martial law in the Philippines. This issue closes with the following: "At present, cadres and activists in the propaganda front should exert more efforts to raise the level of propaganda work in terms of quality and quantity... Our success in this endeavor will help bring about the groundswell of popular protest and resistance that will wreck the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."

Special Release dated December 5, 1972 captioned: ~~"THE 'NEW CONSTITUTION' IS A LICENSE OF THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO FURTHER OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT THE FILIPINO"~~

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

PEOPLE" This is a 12 page publication which starts with the statement: "Taking full advantage of its martial rule, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has been able by armed force, bribery, and deceit to ram through the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention a 'new constitution' which endorses Proclamation No. 1081, allows the fascist dictator Marcos to remain in power for as long as he can beyond 1973 and perpetuates the vile interests of U.S. imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism." This publication discusses various articles of the new constitution, finding many faults and closes with the following slogans:

- "Reject the Marcos constitution!
- "Expose the sham plebiscite!
- "Down with the martial rule of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship!
- "Fight for national freedom and democracy!
- "Carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!
- "Long live the Filipino people!
- "Long live the Philippine revolution!"

This Special Release indicates at the end that it is a statement issued December 3, 1972 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

January 5, 1973

Title COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES (CPP)

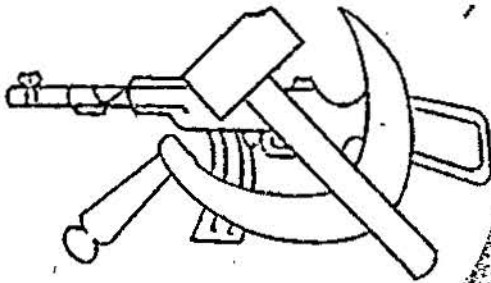
Character INTERNAL SECURITY - PHILIPPINES

Reference Washington, D.C. memorandum
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ANE

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Bayan

Special Release

(English Edition)

September 9, 1972

NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY THWARTS ENEMY CAMPAIGN OF "ENCIRCLEMENT AND SUPPRESSION"
IN NORTHERN LUZON FROM NOVEMBER 1971 TO MAY 1972

The New People's Army successfully thwarted the biggest campaign of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the reactionary armed forces in Northern Luzon from November of last year to May of this year. In this enemy campaign, the New People's Army scored significant victories, annihilating more than 250 enemy troops which included 92 confirmed dead and more than 162 wounded, seizing several arms and ammunitions and destroying several enemy outposts and transportation and communications equipment.

With this campaign, the U.S.-Marcos clique had vainly hoped to destroy the guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones, deprive the New People's Army of mass support and eventually smash it. The reactionary armed forces employed several thousand enemy troops which included the entire "Task Force Lawin", the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 10th and 11th Infantry Battalions, the entire forces of the P.C. Provincial Commands of Isabela, Cagayan, Quirino and Nueva Vizcaya, "scout rangers" and "trainees and special forces" from Fort Magsaysay. They also secured the services of the Lavaite agents and the BSDUs in the region.

For the first time in Northern Luzon, the U.S. imperialists employed American military personnel to participate in the campaign. More than 50 of them were reported in the company of the local reactionary troops obviously to help in planning and communications. These had been landed by Clark Air Base helicopters at Cordon, Isabela sometime last May.

The six-month enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression" covered more than 90 per cent of the guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases in Northern Luzon and passed through three stages.

The first stage covered the second week of November 1971 up to the second week of February 1972. In this stage, the enemy used "harassing" tactics against the N.P.A. units in guerrilla zones in the provinces adjoining Isabela in the attempt to "pursue" and "drive away" the Red fighters towards the province of Isabela.

The second stage began on the second week of February and ended on the second week of April 1972. In this stage, the enemy launched piecemeal operations of "sweeping up" and "searching" tactics. By such tactics, the reactionary armed forces hoped to drive the Red fighters from the plains and fringes of the forest area towards the Sierra Madre.

mountains. Despite enemy actions, the First Regional Party Conference of Northern Luzon was successfully held in Isabela.

The third stage began on the second week of April and lasted to the end of May. The enemy placed blockades around Isabela, employed the "acreage" tactics in their "killing zones" and concentrated a big force to enter the Isabela section of the Sierra Madre mountains.

Throughout the enemy military campaign, the New People's Army, enjoying the support of the broad masses of the people, broke through the tight enemy encirclement, employed flexible tactics, utilized its mastery of the terrain and took the initiative in annihilating small and isolated enemy units. The rich experience that it gained in the fierce revolutionary struggle served to temper the Red fighters and the people and also paved the way for the expansion and consolidation of the revolutionary guerrilla areas.

A Record of Significant Victories

Firmly holding the gun and persevering in revolutionary armed struggle, the Red commanders and fighters chalked up a record of significant victories, among which are the following:

On December 9, 1971, during the first stage of the enemy campaign, a "sparrow unit" (sirbad) of the New People's Army attacked the "Advanced Command Post" of "Task Force Lawin" in Echague, Isabela, killing and wounding 10 enemy troops, partially destroying the camp building and enemy communications equipment.

On December 11, another "sparrow unit" launched a night attack on the enemy army camp in Cauayan, Isabela, killing at least 20 reactionary troops and wounding more than 30, and destroying the enemy camp. On the same day, an N.P.A. squad attacked a BSDU camp in Comun, Aritao, Nueva Vizcaya, killing six reactionary troops and wounding many as well as destroying enemy communications equipment.

On February 29, 1972, during the second stage of the enemy campaign, an encounter took place between an N.P.A. platoon and an enemy unit in Bo. Madadamian, Echague, Isabela. The Red fighters killed two enemy troops and wounded three others. They also captured M-79 and M-16 ammunitions and other military equipment.

On March 16, in order to break through an enemy encirclement, an N.P.A. squad fought an enemy platoon in Bo. San Rafael, San Guillermo, Isabela, killing one and seriously wounding five enemy troops.

On March 24, an encounter took place between an N.P.A. squad and an enemy platoon in Sitio Cabaswagan, Bo. Limbawan, San Pablo, Isabela. Five enemy troops were killed and seven others were wounded.

On March 28, while a unit of Red women fighters were conducting a mass meeting in Bo. Dicamay, San Mariano, Isabela, an enemy helicopter loaded with enemy troops arrived obviously for a raid mission. Before it could land, the courageous women fighters opened fire and damaged the helicopter, sending it scampering away. The Red women fighters had quickly moved away before ground troops could arrive.

On April 13, 1972, during the third stage of the enemy campaign, an N.P.A. platoon led by Comrade Crispin Tagamolila attacked a BSDU-Army camp in Bos. Minuri and Napaliong, Jones, Isabela. In two well-coordinated attacks, the Red fighters annihilated 21 enemy troops, including eight killed and 13 wounded, seriously damaged the enemy camp, destroyed an enemy armored car and other communications equipment.

On April 18, an N.P.A. squad ambushed an enemy squad in B. Soliven, Isabela. Three enemy troops were killed and five others were wounded. On that same day, an enemy squad tried to capture a Red fighter in Bo. Nagupan, Penito Soliven, Isabela. Two enemy troops pursued the Red fighter while the rest positioned themselves along the road for an ambush. The Red fighter nimbly eluded the ambushing

forces and lured the two pursuing enemy troops into the ambush site. A fierce exchange of fire ensued between the two groups of enemy soldiers. Two enemy troops died in the shoot-out.

On May 4, a group of Red fighters attacked a platoon of enemy troops at Didin Creek in Bo. Dicanay, San Mariano, Isabela. Five enemy troops were killed and more than 10 others were seriously wounded.

The next day, an unexpected encounter took place between a group of three Red fighters and enemy reinforcements. In the encounter, a Red fighter was seriously wounded. Knowing that the lives of the other two comrades would be endangered if they tried to help him move away, the Red fighter gave them his gun, kept a grenade and enjoined them to retreat while he covered them. After his two comrades had moved away at a safe distance, he waited for the enemy troops to approach and threw the grenade at them, killing more than five. The brave Red fighter fought to his last breath and died a hero's death.

On May 15, an N.P.A. squad fought two enemy squads in Bo. Rizal, San Guillermo, Isabela. The Red fighters annihilated 13 enemy troops, including three dead and 10 seriously wounded.

Unity of the Army and the People--Guarantee of Victory

The great struggle to foil the enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression" in Northern Luzon was a magnificent manifestation of the unbreakable unity between the army and the people. It proved once more that the New People's Army is invincible because it truly serves the interests of the oppressed and exploited people and enjoys their immense support and sympathy.

With the forces that they could command, the reactionary military authorities ordered the perpetration of the most heinous crimes against the people under the fascist war-cry of "burn, kill and plunder". By such unmitigated barbarity, they had hoped to terrorize the people into passivity and "drive the fish out of the water".

In most of the barrios of Isabela, for example, the enemy tried to restrict the movements of the people by strictly imposing night curfew. Those found outside their homes, even if they were forced to go out by such a necessity as looking after their work animals, were immediately apprehended or shot at. Even at daytime, ordinary peasants on their way to their farms were waylaid by the enemy troops, bodily searched and investigated on the spot. Those found in what the fascist brutes considered as unlikely places were arrested, tortured and sometimes killed, after which they were reported as "N.P.A. commanders". Not content with restricting the barrio people's movements, the enemy troops resorted to burning or spraying with bullets the houses of those they suspected of sympathizing with the New People's Army. They did not spare even the womenfolk some of whom were arrested, humiliated and abused.

In many barrios, the enemy placed "checkpoints" for the purpose of enforcing a tight economic blockade against the people's army. Grain, food items and other basic necessities bought from the town were confiscated and kept in these "checkpoints" and were given to the people in limited amounts for fear that an "excess" might go to the Red fighters. Generally, the goods were never entirely recovered and most of them were consumed by the enemy troops. Apart from imposing a strict economic blockade, the fascist brutes resorted to stealing grains, butchering poultry and work animals, and stealing money and such other items as transistor radios, clothes and beddings.

But the masses were undaunted. In many barrios, for example, the people, under the leadership of underground Party cadres and the local organs of revolutionary political power, did their share in reconnaissance work on the movement and disposition of enemy troops. Throughout the enemy operation, members of the people's militia and self-defense corps helped in keeping an effective communications system among the guerrilla squads. Many of them ingeniously crossed enemy "checkpoints" at the risk of their lives and passed on to the Red fighters whatever information and material help they could give. In this way, the Red fighters

were able to surmount material difficulties and know in advance the enemy plans, avoid large concentrations of enemy forces and attack small and isolated enemy units.

The victories achieved by the New People's Army during the six-month enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression" dashed to the ground the scheme of the U.S.-Marcos clique to destroy the New People's Army in Northern Luzon. Following firmly the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the broad masses of Red commanders and fighters are ever more determined to keep the Red flag flying and make more and greater contributions to the nationwide advance of the people's democratic revolution.

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PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Special Release

(English Edition)

October 1, 1972

OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

The essence of the formal declaration of martial law through Proclamation No. 1001 is the brazen imposition of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship on the entire Filipino nation and people. This proclamation is in effect the formal declaration of civil war by the U.S.-Marcos clique against the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it is in the final analysis the death sentence for its criminal authors because the people shall win in the end through revolutionary struggle.

As a result of the complete self-exposure of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the conditions for the rapid advance of the Philippine revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism have become far more excellent than ever before. The ranks of the revolutionary movement have rapidly broadened and the various forms of revolutionary struggle, principally armed struggle, have further intensified.

A new level of revolutionary struggle has come about. All over the country, the people are brimming with revolutionary hatred for the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the violent opposite of national freedom and democracy which they cherish. It is starkly clear to everyone that a fascist dictatorship, seeking to perpetuate itself through counterrevolutionary violence, can be overthrown only through revolutionary violence. The U.S.-Marcos clique has only dug deeper its grave.

The Usurpation of Absolute Power by the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship

With an autocratic arrogance reminiscent of absolute monarchy in feudal times, the U.S.-Marcos clique has converted Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph 2 of the reactionary constitution into an overall license to suppress the sovereign rights of the Filipino people in violation of every concept of republicanism. It is the absurd stand of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship that it can declare and implement an "unlimited form of martial law". If the fascist logic of the dictatorship were to be followed, this particular constitutional provision should have merited

being the Preamble, Article I or Article II, but never lower than Article III entitled "Bill of Rights" of the reactionary constitution. Indeed, fascist dictators themselves wantonly violate the priority of principles laid down hypocritically in bourgeois constitutions and pick constitutional provisions out of context in order to suit their tyranny.

Without bothering to get any authorization from Congress, Marcos highhandedly signed Proclamation No. 1081 on September 21 and subsequently signed corresponding general orders, letters of instruction and a presidential decree on September 22 and September 23 before finally making them public at 7:15 on the evening of September 23, 1972. In his "background" speech for his prior acts, all essentially calculated to usurp and concentrate absolute governmental power in his hands and suppress every kind of democratic and revolutionary opposition to his regime, he boasted of wanting "to save the republic and to reform society" and of doing so in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces alone. In this regard, the puppet dictator Marcos keeps repeating "I" and "me personally" to stress his autocratic pretensions.

Proclamation No. 1001 lays down at length the pretexts for martial law and dictatorship, such as that there is not only a "state of rebellion" and "subversion" but even "an actual state of war" throughout the country, including the Greater Manila area. This is supposed to be due to a "criminal conspiracy" of such diverse groups of men as the Communist Party of the Philippines; the Liberal Party; certain sections of the Nacionalista Party; the publishers, editors and other journalists; members of the constitutional convention; Manila TV-radio broadcasters; leaders and members of mass organizations of workers, peasants, students, teachers and professionals, women and others; the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao; and even such unwholesome groups as crime syndicates, petty warlords and the Lava revisionist renegades. Then the proclamation orders the reactionary armed forces to put the entire country under martial law and detain indefinitely at the whim of the commander-in-chief all those deemed opposed to his fascist puppet regime.

The promulgation of Proclamation No. 1081 immediately violates Article VI, Section 26 of the reactionary constitution which clearly states that "in times of war or other national emergency, the Congress may by law authorize the President, for a limited period and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations to carry out a declared national policy". This constitutional provision points out the authority of Congress and the necessity of having a declared national policy emanating from it. Marcos did not bother to consult Congress as the national policy-making body of the reactionary government before signing his fascist proclamation. He even went further by issuing General Order No. 1 and Presidential Decree No. 1 which put Congress to naught.

General Order No. 1 proclaims that the entire nation and the entire government, including all its agencies and instrumentalities, are under the absolute authority of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Under this order, both the legislative department and the judicial department, coequals and coordinates of the executive department under the constitution, are arbitrarily rendered inutile and even nonexistent. This order also carries with it the implication that the commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces can at whim disregard and violate anyone's right to public office by virtue of election or civil service rules. In effect, the fascist dictatorship has torn to pieces the very same constitution which it pretends to defend and draw authority from.

The promulgation of Presidential Decree No. 1 clearly shows that Marcos has arrogated unto himself the prerogatives and functions of Congress or the legislative department. Under this decree, the "Integrated Reorganization Plan" is being implemented "in the name of the law of the land" despite the fact that this is a pending congressional bill. The fascist dictator has even seen it fit to berate Congress for not having had enough sense to pass this bill before. By way of confirming the dissolution or absorption by him of Congress, he invited a number of congressmen on September 25 only to tell them to become "models in their communities" and to threaten them veiledly with dispossession of their property by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. To stress the point that he has assumed fascist dictatorial powers, he has ordered the detention of several members of Congress in military camps or placed them under house arrest or under threat of detention and other punitive measures.

General Order No. 3 clearly puts all actions of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship above the civilian courts, including the Supreme Court. It takes away from these the prerogative of trying seven categories of cases of vital importance, such as those involving: 1) the validity, legality or constitutionality of any decree, order or acts issued, promulgated or performed by the dictator himself or his duly designated representative; 2) the validity, legality or constitutionality of any rules, orders or acts issued, promulgated or performed by public servants pursuant to decrees, orders, rules and regulations issued and promulgated "by me" or "by my duly designated representative" pursuant to Proclamation No. 1081; 3) crimes against national security and the laws of nations; 4) crimes against the fundamental laws of the State; 5) crimes against public order; 6) usurpation of authority, rank, title, and improper use of names, uniforms, and insignia; and 7) crimes committed by public officers.

The abovementioned cases are put within the exclusive jurisdiction of military commissions or military courts created by the chief of staff of the reactionary armed forces under the direction of the dictatorship. In other words, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and its fascist minions can commit every crime with absolute impunity. Marcos himself has scorned the petition of detainees for the writ of habeas corpus in the Supreme Court as an exercise in futility since he claims now to be the sole authority on judicial matters as commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces. He has also declared that he will remove and replace public officials in any government department, including the judiciary; in fact he has already demanded the resignation of all judges of the lower civilian courts and special courts like the Court of Industrial Relations and the Court of Agrarian Relations. The scope of authority given to the military courts is so comprehensive that all civilian courts, including the Supreme Court, are left with no more cases to try, except a few kinds of a marginal nature.

General Order No. 3 orders that the present officers and employees of all executive departments, bureaus, offices, agencies and instrumentalities of the national government, government-owned or controlled corporations, as well as all governments of all the provinces, cities and municipalities and barrios can remain in office only at the pleasure of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and can no longer consider as sufficient basis for tenure previous elections or civil service eligibility.

Provincial governors and town and city mayors are now so much threatened that some of those who were previously critical of the U.S.-Marcos clique, especially those from the Liberal Party, have started to sing paeans for Marcos as if the principal character of this scandal can be appeased by capitulation. Presidential Decree No. 1 emphasizes the threat of dismissal against appointive officials and employees even without due process and due cause. The real intention of the "Integrated Reorganization Plan" is to effect mass dismissal of civilian employees so that their salaries could be used for the purposes of the fascist military although the avowed intention of the dictatorship is to reduce the costs of government by "weeding out" those whom it categorizes as "corrupt, inefficient, ignorant and useless".

By acting on the sole basis that he is the commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces and by implementing his line of "unlimited martial law" above and beyond the entire constitution, Marcos has supplanted "civilian authority" with "military authority", notwithstanding his previous declaration on September 23 that there was "no military takeover", and has calculated to perpetuate his dictatorship, notwithstanding his oft-repeated claim that he wants the "national emergency" to end "as soon as possible".

In his address to his military lapdogs on September 26, the dictator himself declared: "... by and large, the military in the Philippines have demonstrated their capacity to govern, rule and exact obedience ... This is the first new principle or manifestation in the New Society which we would like to create: that there is a breed of men capable not only of ruling others but of governing themselves ... we must thank you and the men under you, noncommissioned officers and enlisted men, all the way down to the lowest level, have shown and demonstrated that this principle in which we believe, that is, that the military can be given all the power ..."

For all intents and purposes, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is hell-bent on employing an armed minority of men (at the moment only about 65,000 including noncombatant personnel) to ride roughshod over the people. This is absolutely necessary as the dictatorship intends to perpetuate itself for "two years or more" (as revealed by top C.I.A. agent Alejandro Melchor in a press interview in the United States, after making a special report on the Philippine situation to his U.S. imperialist masters). This is far beyond the one year and three months that is left of the constitutional tenure of Marcos.

The Suppression of the Basic Democratic Rights of the People

In line with the vile scheme of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to perpetuate itself in power, General Order No. 2, General Order No. 4 and General Order No. 5 are all aimed at directly intimidating and actually curtailing and suppressing the basic democratic rights of the broad masses of the people. Of course, these are closely related to General Order No. 3 which, elaborating on Proclamation No. 1081, subjects the people to final judgment by their fascist persecutors.

General Order No. 2 reiterates the order for mass arrests and mass detention immediately embodied in Proclamation No. 1081. It orders the fascist troops to arrest and detain for as long as it pleases the dictatorship "such persons as may have committed crimes and offenses in furtherance or on the occasion of or incident to or in connection with the crimes of insurrection or rebellion, as well as persons who have committed crimes against national security and the law of nations, crimes against public order, crimes involving usurpation of authority, title, improper use of name, uniform and insignia, including persons guilty of crimes as public officers, as well as those persons who may have violated any decree or order promulgated by me personally or promulgated upon my direction".

Under this order, anyone can be blacklisted by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, blackmailed or actually put through sham trial in the military courts and punished arbitrarily. In the first wave of nationwide mass arrests, conducted from 9:00 p.m. of September 22 to 6:00 a.m. of September 23, several thousands of leading personalities in various legal endeavors and common people were apprehended and thrown into military camps and many of these were brutally tortured or even murdered. So far, only a little over a hundred detainees in the Manila-Rizal region have been reported through the Marcos-controlled government radio stations and the Marcos-owned Kanlaon Broadcasting System (KBS) and Daily Express.

General Order No. 4 orders the maintenance of a daily curfew throughout the Philippines from 12:00 midnight to 4:00 in the morning. This has immediately resulted in the disruption of the livelihood of a great number of people, including workers on the night shift, fishermen, market vendors, transport workers and businessmen, restaurant employees, street peddlars and so many others. To disregard this order infringing on the free movement of the people is to suffer brutal treatment and indefinite detention in a military camp and subsequently in a prison camp. Exceptions to this order can be taken only from a military commander-in-charge in the given area. That military

officer acts as the overlord in the area. Within or outside curfew time, it is now the fascist troops roving the streets who commit all sorts of crimes, frequently extortion, robbery, maulings, drunken behavior and rape. Anyone who complains can easily get accused of slandering the dictator Marcos and the fascist military.

General Order No. 5 orders the suppression of the basic democratic rights of free assembly and free expression. This is directed against the workers, peasants, youth and all other sections of the population, including political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations. It prohibits under pain of fascist punishment all rallies and demonstrations and other forms of mass actions, including strikes and picketing by workers and others, in vital industries such as in companies engaged in the manufacture or processing as well as in the distribution of fuel, gas, gasoline and fuel or lubricating oil, in companies engaged in the production or processing of essential commodities or products for export, and in companies engaged in banking of any kind, as well as in hospitals and in schools and colleges.

It is clear by this order that while he acts as a dictator towards the broad masses of the people, Marcos is a despicable puppet of the big bourgeoisie, especially the U.S. imperialists. He is specially interested in suppressing protest mass actions against the U.S. oil monopolies and their arbitrary price hiking. At any rate, he is violently opposed to all forms of democratic assembly and expression. He has gone as far as to issue a special order to the armed forces, particularly his secret agents, to eavesdrop on ordinary conversations in order to catch people for "rumormongering".

Letter of Instruction No. 1 also involves the suppression of the democratic right of free expression. It orders the Press Secretary, now called the Secretary of the Department of Public Information (D.P.I.) after Presidential Decree No. 1, to take over all newspapers, magazines, radio and television facilities and all other media of communications, wherever they are. The closure of the major Manila newspapers and radio and TV stations has disrupted the livelihood of printing workers, journalists, staff employees, radio-TV talents, newsboys, newspaper dealers and so many others. Pursuant to Letter of Instruction No. 1, the D.P.I. secretary has started to issue his own department orders. Department Order No. 1 orders, among others, that all materials for publication in the newspapers or broadcast on radio and television shall have to carry the approval of the Department of Public Information and that these shall have to fall in with the fascist dictatorship and strictly avoid expressing the true national and democratic interests of the Filipino people. Department Order No. 2 orders that no printer may print any newspaper, periodical, news sheet, pamphlet, leaflet or any publication for mass dissemination of any kind without approval of the Department of Public Information and that these shall also have to conform with Department Order No. 1. Because of the bureaucratic run-around involved in getting approval for printing orders, the livelihood not only of the press owners but also of the printing workers are adversely affected.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship wants to monopolize all channels of information with the vain hope of controlling the minds of the people with its lies. Its fascist totali-

tarianism leaves no room for such other channels of information as those owned by the Roceses, Lopezes, Locsins and the like though these have never gone beyond legal criticism of the obvious excesses of the U.S.-Marcos clique and have as a matter of fact given utmost space to Malacanang press releases. In the meantime, it is only those channels of information that are owned by the fascist government (like Radio Philippines Network, Philippine Broadcasting System and the like); those that are owned directly or indirectly by fascist dictator Marcos (like Kanlaon Broadcasting System, Daily Express, Livayway, Bannawag, Hiligaynon, Bisaya and the like); and those owned by foreign imperialist entities, especially American, (Philippines Herald, Radio Mindanao Network, Interisland Broadcasting System and the like) that are allowed to operate.

This new development is what Marcos calls fighting "subversion" with "sophistication". This is what we call the crudeness of fascism, the complete unmasking of the ugly face of a fascist dictatorship. Unwittingly, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has only convinced the broad masses of the people of the necessity and urgency of putting out and distributing underground publications and resorting to other forms of mass communications (including secret meetings in urban areas and mass meetings in the rural areas). It must also be pointed out that it is impossible for the fascist authorities to guard all medium and small printing presses in the country, not to mention some small presses secretly kept in the underground.

Gone berserk in its attempt to suppress every kind of opposition to its unjust rule, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has as one of its initial acts suspended classes at all levels. Though the initial suspension of classes is only for one week, this has been extended indefinitely at the high school, college and graduate levels. School teachers in primary and elementary schools are now under threat of being dismissed if they disobey strict orders to wage a hysterical campaign of anti-communist indoctrination and propaganda for the fascist dictatorship. Progressive teachers and students, including officers of student governments, are being apprehended or threatened with detention. Such fascist tactics have only served to increase the number of men and women who are very articulate in denouncing the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The indefinite closure of all private high schools and colleges have angered all the teachers whose livelihood has been unduly disrupted and the students' parents who are acutely concerned about the time and living expenses of their children going to waste.

General Order No. 6 and General Order No. 7 are both intended to consolidate control by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship of firearms and ammunitions in the hands of the reactionary armed forces and police forces and also those in the hands of security agencies and warlords. The first order prohibits the carrying of firearms by private persons and orders the arrest of all persons doing so unless they are authorized by the dictatorship. Marcos himself has declared in his "background" speech that carrying of firearms outside the residence, even if covered by license but without permission of the reactionary armed forces, is punishable by death. The second order requires that all high-powered firearms in the hands of private security agencies, public or private corporations (including gun stores) and private individuals, and those under the

temporary custody of the Bureau of Customs, Bureau of Posts and clerks of courts (apart from those in pending court cases) be turned over immediately to the firearms and explosives units of the Philippine Constabulary.

To camouflage its real intention of controlling arms for its fascist purposes, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has raved mad about "peace and order" and has even pretended to arrest and confiscate token numbers of arms from notorious warlords who are close to it, like Ablan, Bocalan, Crisologo and the like. But the warlords and crime gangs are actually not surrendering their arms. Only some police forces, private corporations and individuals opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship are being forced to turn over their registered arms to the Philippine Constabulary. As a result, these entities are being rendered helpless before the fascist gangsters, warlords and ordinary armed criminals.

Letter of Instruction No. 2 orders the Secretary of National Defense to "take over" the management, control and operation of the Manila Electric Company (MERALCO), the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company (P.L.D.T.), the National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority (NAWASA), the Philippine National Railways (P.N.R.), the Philippine Air Lines (PAL), Air Manila, Filipinas Orient Airways, and other public utilities. Once more, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship deliberately refuses even only to mention the U.S. oil companies and other U.S.-owned public utility firms in the Philippines.

The "takeover" of public utilities is neither to achieve nationalization nor to crush an armed opposition in the premises. The NAWASA and P.L.D.T. are government institutions long under trusted military appointees of Marcos. The P.L.D.T. and Air Manila are private corporations controlled and owned by Marcos himself through dummies. The PAL and Filipinas Orient Airways continue to be private corporations under the ownership and control of Marcos' big-bourgeois confreres. The real target for spite of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is MERALCO and the Lopezes who are owners of controlling stocks. The military-takeover management here really makes it a point to boss around, go over the company accounts and noddle in operations. Though Marcos himself is a noncontrolling co-owner of this public utility firm, he wants to once more tighten the screw against the Lopezes when he wants to support his dictatorship completely, especially with the use of the Lopez-owned Manila Chronicle and ABC-CBN radio-television network.

Letter of Instruction No. 3 orders the Secretary of National Defense to take over the possession, control and operation of all privately owned aircraft and watercraft of Philippine registry and also to control the movement of nonmilitary foreign-owned and foreign-registered aircraft and watercraft of whatever make. The avowed intention of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship in this regard is to prevent the escape of his reactionary rivals for power either by sea or by air in their private yachts or private planes. Letters of Instruction Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of Justice, the Secretary of Finance and the Governor of the Central Bank, respectively, are also openly intended to prevent the "escape from the country" of the enemies of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. But, of course, the instructions, from Instruction No. 3 to Instruction No. 7, are all meant to curtail the free flow of information regarding the despicableness

by which the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has come about. Only after assuring itself of complete control of the mass media and also the detention of a sweeping range of critics has the dictatorship allowed, under guard of troops, spies and censors, the transmission of messages via international and domestic carriers and communications firms.

In a vain attempt to deceive the peasant masses, the big landlord and landgrabber Marcos has announced that he has issued Presidential Decree No. 2 proclaiming the whole country as a "land reform area". This is plain drivel of a demagogue. Since the law to be applied is basically the old Agricultural Land Reform Code, which is reactionary by both origin and amendments, nothing will come out of the decree except that it will serve to worsen the plight of the peasant masses as has been proven in previous "land reform areas". The code is essentially nothing more than a set of instructions for the landlord class to exploit the peasantry further. In making his decree, Marcos even fails to conceal his malice as he sternly warns the tenant peasants to "respect" and be "fair and just" to the landlords. The dictatorship is hell-bent on preventing the peasant masses from forming their own associations and is busier than ever in criminally assaulting and rounding up those who have their own militant associations. The reactionary armed forces are now frenziedly attacking the peasant masses and accusing them of being guerrilla fighters of the New People's Army. Thus, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has become isolated not only in the urban areas but also in the countryside where the flames of people's war are rapidly spreading.

The "show window of democracy in Asia" which was much touted by U.S. imperialism and its puppets in the past has proven to be mere soap bubble. It is now completely gone. Because of its boundless greed of power and wealth, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has forced on everyone in the Philippines the choice between armed revolution and armed counterrevolution. The people's revolutionary struggle for national freedom and democracy has become ever more vigorous and fiercer. In this regard, it is worth taking up C.I.A. Helchor's description of his criminal accomplice Marcos, as one who has put his head on the block. This description is very apt. The Filipino people are going to literally chop off Marcos' head in due time, unless his U.S. imperialist masters will first do so in the manner that they did to the abominable Ngo Dinh Diem. At any rate, the Filipino people will continue to maintain their armed strength and fight on even as some other dog would be groomed as one more puppet dictator by U.S. imperialism. In the face of the present fascist tyranny, the broad masses of the Filipino people know how to fight for their freedom.

The Fabrication of the "State of National Emergency"

An actual state of martial law has long existed in many parts of the country, especially in Central Luzon, Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon and Mindanao, even before the formal declaration of martial law covering the entire country. The fascist minions of the U.S.-Marcos clique under the black banners of military task forces have long operated as the supreme violators of political authority, abusing and blackmailing the people; robbing and extorting from them; rounding them up and incarcerating them indefinitely on false charges; barging into homes and

even burning them; committing kidnappings, murder and massacres; and raping the womenfolk with impunity.

These are the concrete manifestations, especially in the countryside, of the trend of militarization and fascization so well condemned by the people throughout the land. These are the bitter results of the more than fivefold increase of the official military budget from 1966 to 1972; the system of conspiracy between the commander-in-chief and his favorites in the reactionary armed forces; the rapid increase in troops and equipment; the fielding of so many "task forces" and "paramilitary units" (BSPUs and "Honkees"); the vicious employment of the Anti-Subversion Law; the intensification of fascist training in "home defense" centers; the militarist intrusion into civilian offices and functions either under the signboard of "civic action" or "accommodation of retirees from the military service"; the secret but widescale issuance of military rank to civilian officials; the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; the unrelenting "psy-war" campaigns for the acceptance of martial law; the adoption of "contingency plans"; committing crimes of bloody intrigue for the purpose of pitting one group against another; and so many others.

The real situation in certain parts of the country is now being turned into a nationwide situation through the formal declaration of martial law. The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bent on committing all kinds of fascist crimes against the broad masses of the people in order to suppress their clamor for national freedom and democracy, province by province and island by island. The fascist dictatorship has the illusion that it can freely do so as long as it has the absolute power over the entire reactionary government and monopoly of the legal channels of communication such as those centered in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas. Thus, aside from trying to hunt down the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, it has to terrorize the democratic mass organizations, the mass media, the Liberal Party, sections of the Nacionalista Party, sections of the constitutional convention and all patriotic and democratic personages. This is to serve notice to all who can disseminate information and opinions widely to keep silent about fascist crimes that are aimed at protecting the interests of U.S. imperialism and at the same time perpetuating the Marcos puppet gang in power. To achieve its vile scheme, the U.S.-Marcos clique has had to resort to a number of tricks resting mainly on the myth of "urban terrorism". A series of a few bombings is made in the urban areas, blamed on communists and all other democratic forces, turned into an argument for "contingency plans" and, presto, there is a "state of national emergency" which is used as a pretext for doing away with all channels of mass communications except those of the commander-in-chief and his dictatorship.

The dry run for the big trick that is the current "state of national emergency" was the Plaza Miranda massacre on August 21, 1971 and the subsequent suspension of the writ of habeas corpus until January of this year. In the massacre caused by two grenades, nine were killed and more than a hundred people were seriously wounded including almost all the top leaders of the Liberal Party. Within two hours after the incident, the U.S.-Marcos clique was already on radio blaming the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and democratic mass organizations for the dastardly crime. Then, less than three hours after the

massacre, the U.S.-Marcos clique issued only to the reactionary armed forces and without public knowledge until August 23, the presidential proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus and ordering the mass arrest of prominent democratic personages and activists of democratic mass organizations. Immediately after the massacre, there also followed a series of nine petty bombings which had no other motive but to buttress the false public claims of the U.S.-Marcos clique and which could have been committed in certain well-guarded places, like the Manila City Hall and the residence of Rep. Cojuangco, only by a conspiracy in which Marcos himself was involved.

What gave away the bloody hands of the U.S.-Marcos clique with regard to the Plaza Miranda massacre was that Marcos and his lieutenant Enrile readily blamed so many people, including a college president and a prominent radio commentator, and entire mass organizations for a crime which was essentially a conspiracy and, therefore, could have involved only a handful of persons in both planning and execution. The broad masses of the people and the survivors of the massacre themselves pointed the finger of blame on the U.S.-Marcos clique, which had been responsible for so many previous massacres. The false accusations of the U.S.-Marcos clique became more ludicrous and incredible when the leaders of the Liberal Party were finally accused of trying to kill themselves in order to get public sympathy and win the 1971 elections. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was "lifted" only after the U.S.-Marcos clique appeared satisfied with something, like the Supreme Court decision acclaiming the presidential privilege to suspend the writ, giving credence to a piece of fabrication like the "July-August Plan" and above all noting the existence of a state of rebellion and likewise of a declaration of war from the Communist Party of the Philippines. Then, in a complete turnabout from its previous propaganda of anti-communist lies, the U.S.-Marcos clique charged in court for the Plaza Miranda massacre not some communists but some living-out prisoners of the national penitentiary, which is run by a trusted agent of the U.S.-Marcos clique.

The fascist tricks of the U.S.-Marcos clique did not end with the Plaza Miranda massacre, however. The clique merely took a breather for a few months from its November 1971 electoral defeat. Soon came another series of petty bombings in the Manila-Rizal region, a total of 16 minor detonations (from March 15 to September 18, 1972) most of which caused only some petty damage on some government and privately owned buildings and three of which were the most serious, causing one death and injuries to more than twenty people. In addition, there were "discoveries" of bombs at Congress and the Department of Foreign Affairs on July 18 and August 30, respectively; and two patently fake casualtyless ambushes, one supposedly on a Metrocon car on August 19 and another on Defense Secretary Enrile himself on September 22. Most of the bombings and other incidents were made during the months of August and September 1972 immediately prior to Proclamation No. 1081.

It was during the months of August and September, when thirteen of the abovecited incidents were made, that the U.S.-Marcos clique took the posture of raving mad about "urban terrorism" and "urban guerrilla warfare". Within seconds after every incident, Marcos and his fascist minions would rail against the Communist Party, the New People's Army and democratic mass organizations and threaten

to adopt some "contingency plans". Everyday the front pages of the Manila newspapers would scream and the radio would blare with the quick allegations of the U.S.-Marcos clique. During this period, the Communist Party of the Philippines issued through Ang Bayan two statements refuting the false accusations of the fascist clique; some quotations from these statements found their way into Manila newspapers. As during the white terror that followed the Plaza Miranda massacre, the Party reaffirmed its adherence to the theory of people's war and the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and strongly condemned terrorist acts where the most likely victims are the people and likewise the stupid "psy-war" campaign unleashed by the enemy to cause a mammoth-sized hysteria from a few petty incidents.

A few of the bombings before June 1972 had been claimed by the lava revisionist renegades in their anti-communist publications as their own doing. And in three bombings, where there were casualties, evidence clearly pointed to the U.S.-Marcos clique as the mastermind and culprit. A P.C. sergeant belonging to the P.C. firearms and explosives unit was actually caught by the Manila Metropolitan Police and confessed to being on a "special mission" in connection with the most serious bombing, that at Joe's Department Store on September 5. Two A.F.P. plainclothesmen taking a ride in a jeep marked "for official use only" were seen by eyewitnesses in connection with the bombing at the Manila City Hall on September 8. Three P.C. men in uniform were also seen in the process of bomb emplacement and getaway in a P.C. truck by three delegates of the constitutional convention in connection with the bombing at the Mason City Hall on September 10.

Despite all evidences and clues gathered, the U.S.-Marcos clique did not only continue to insist on its false anti-communist charges but also maneuvered to suppress evidence pointing to its own criminal responsibility. For instance, it took the aforecited P.C. sergeant of the P.C. firearms and explosives unit into custody so as to spare him from thoroughgoing investigation by the Manila Metropolitan Police. The maneuvers of the clique were so crudely evident that eventually the leaders of the Liberal Party and journalists of the Manila newspapers stood up to raise questions of doubt and also to denounce certain actuations of the powers that be. Then came the public exposure of "Operation Sagittarius" which unmasked the plans of the U.S.-Marcos clique to declare martial law under the guise of taking "contingency plans" to follow up the terrorist incidents made by the clique itself. This operational plan leaked out to a member of the Senate by a top-ranking military officer. It was at this point, covering a period of about two weeks prior to Proclamation No. 1081, that the U.S.-Marcos clique intensified its efforts to terrorize all its critics by telling them outright that they could be kidnapped or assassinated under the pretext that the kidnappers and assassins were the New People's Army.

As if it could deceive the people by a mere repetition of lies, Proclamation No. 1081 continues to treat the incidents, which were mostly bombings in urban areas, as the key factor in declaring a "state of national emergency". On the other hand, this proclamation has completely unmasked the U.S.-Marcos clique as a totally fascist criminal gang and a bunch of incorrigible liars. How many times did these scoundrels deny scheming to impose martial law?

There is not only martial law now but also a full-blown fascist dictatorship to boot. The flimsy basis for what is now called a "state of national emergency" or "an actual state of war" is a series of twenty relatively minor incidents which, as now confirmed by the very promulgation of Proclamation No. 1031, has all along been the calculated doing of the U.S.-Marcos clique to fabricate grounds for a fascist dictatorship all over the country.

The basis for the "state of national emergency" becomes even more flimsy and ludicrous when a textual examination is made of the "Regional Program of Action 1972", previously referred to variably as the "Tarinsing Papers", the "July-August Plan" or "September-October Plan" by the U.S.-Marcos clique. It is incorporated in Proclamation No. 1031; now it can be publicly checked and scrutinized. This "regional program of action" is completely a piece of deception, a fabrication pure and simple. It is supposed to be a regional program of action and yet its scope is national and the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines is spuriously tacked on it. It was supposed to have been captured by Task Force "Saranay" in Barrio Tarinsing, Cordon, Isabela on June 18, 1972 and it lists down a number of specific bombing targets for September and October 1972 in the Manila-Rizal region. Despite the supposed advantage of being forewarned by several months, the reactionary armed forces did not thwart the bombing of the listed targets or capture any bomber. Then, consider how the "regional plan" is conceived, put into outline and written according to outline. It is completely childish. To write an instruction like "Create regional chaos and disorder ..." is utterly counterrevolutionary and outside of revolutionary thinking and style. This is Marcosian gibberish, a sloppy attempt at forgery.

Before Proclamation No. 1031, there could not have been any "actual state of war" in the Manila-Rizal region. On the very day that Marcos was supposed to have signed this proclamation in utmost secrecy, people's marches from several assembly points in the Manila-Rizal region and a massive rally of several tens of thousands of people at Plaza Miranda were peacefully conducted under the auspices of the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties and with the participation of more than sixty democratic-mass organizations. The gigantic popular demonstration denounced the wanton suppression of civil liberties and the making of incidents by the U.S.-Marcos clique to pave the way for the imposition of martial rule. In the entire stretch of the day, the factories, offices, schools and business shops were in normal operation. Congress, the courts, various government offices, the constitutional convention, the restaurants, coffeeshops and nightclubs were also in normal operation. The "actual state of war" in the Manila-Rizal region was nothing more than the fantasy of the madman Marcos, otherwise notoriously known as the mad bomber.

The wide-ranging "whereases" of Proclamation No. 1031 contradict each other and serve merely to show how much of a fumbling liar the dictator Marcos is. He makes one claim that the strength of the New People's Army has rapidly increased, but also makes the opposite claim that it has suffered a disastrously increasing number of casualties and, therefore, an increasing loss of arms, from year to year. Besides, he deflates the number of military actions launched against and the number of casualties inflicted on the reactionary armed forces by the New People's Army in the

countryside. He makes one claim that the number of regular Red fighters has increased from 560 as of January 1, 1972 to 1,028 regular fighters as of July 31, 1972, but he also makes the opposite claim that the New People's Army got 3,500 M-14 rifles from the Karragatan during the month of July. Possession of 3,500 M-14 rifles should mean a great deal more of regular troop increase for the people's army. He makes one claim that some 3,000 high school and college students have dropped out to join the fighting units of the New People's Army, but makes the opposite claim that the same people's army has only 1,028 regular fighters and 1,500 combat support. The truth is that at least ninety per cent of the regular mobile and guerrilla units of the people's army are peasants; this makes Marcos' claim regarding school dropouts an outright lie even as his own figures fail to tally with each other. Finally, it may be asked, why is it that Marcos is terrified by what he claims is a little over 1,000 Red fighters while at the same time he never fails to brag about the overbearing strength of his military personnel of 65,000? Has he not always been prating that he is "on top of the situation"?

Although in its very first "whereas" it makes the attempt to show that only the Communist Party is the "conspiracy" out to overthrow the present reactionary state, Proclamation No. 1031, together with its corresponding general orders and letters of instruction, ends up accusing a wide range of people of being in one and the same "conspiracy" that is supposed to be responsible for a "reign of terror" and "wanton acts of destruction on life and property" in both the rural and urban areas. The dictator Marcos arbitrarily changes the meaning of terms. Obviously, he has already extended his dictatorial power into the realm of the lexicon. Normally, conspiracy is defined as the act of a handful of persons secretly plotting to commit a crime according to a single plan. In the novel meaning now given by the dictator to the term, it is supposed to be the open and mass activity of the most diverse organizations and individuals acting "consciously" and "unconsciously" to oppose such a real conspiracy as that one which has brought about the present fascist dictatorship.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship actually insists that the Communist Party of the Philippines is in "conspiracy" with the Lava revisionist renegades and crime syndicates. This is a vicious slander on the Party. But the fascist dictatorship unwittingly exposes its hopeless isolation by linking in word and deed the Communist Party of the Philippines with the democratic mass organizations (of workers, peasants, youth and others), the mass media, the Liberal Party, certain sections of the Nacionalista Party, certain members of the constitutional convention, the poor settlers, the national minorities and the Mindanao Independence Movement. It is utterly silly, however, for the fascist dictatorship to accuse the Communist Party, together with these, of crimes against the people. If that were the case, there would be no more need for the "extraordinary measures" of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, for it would be us who would be isolated and not this despicable dictatorship.

Proclamation No. 1031 takes great stock in citing a decision of the Supreme Court (on the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus last year) stating that there has been a state of rebellion since several decades ago and that the programme of the Communist Party of the Philippines amounts to a declaration of war. On the basis of this citation, the U.S.-Marcos clique claims to have the right to declare martial law under any condition and any time it pleases.

It further argues that it has already resorted to the use of military task forces and subsequently the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus but that it has failed each time to suppress the armed revolutionary movement which has always succeeded in becoming even stronger despite these measures. So, it concludes that it has to declare martial law. It further concludes that it is entirely up to the president in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the armed forces to make anything out of martial law since the term "martial law" is supposedly not qualified in Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph 2 of the reactionary constitution. Thus, the commander-in-chief has finally decided to install himself as a fascist dictator under the cover of an "unlimited form of martial law".

The term "martial law" appears in the context of a constitutional provision, which refers to certain other factors and elements and which even refers to degrees and alternatives. It is not true that the term is absolutely not qualified and that it can be interpreted by the president in any way he wants. The term "place under martial law" implies merely execution or implementation of a national policy determined and declared by Congress. The provision carrying the term appears in the context of the entire constitution which also carries Article VI, Section 26. In times of war or other national emergency, it is Congress that is vested with the authority to decide the national policy and that authorizes by law the president, for a limited period of time and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations to carry out a declared national policy.

Notwithstanding the existence of a state of rebellion, the formal declaration of martial law was never resorted to in the Philippines or any part thereof in the time prior to the present by Marcos' predecessors and Marcos himself. Yet the reasons given now by Marcos for the formal declaration of martial law have not only been in fact too blatantly contrived but have also been extremely questionable even among the reactionaries. The broad masses of the people easily see through the legal pretenses of the dictator Marcos. These are extremely flimsy embellishments on the few terrorist incidents plotted to bring about a "state of national emergency", the fabrication on which rests the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

"New Society" Means Nothing But the Worsening of the Old Society

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is not satisfied with pretending "to save the republic" in attacking the national and democratic rights of the sovereign people. It wants to remain in power for as long as it can through sheer armed force by pretending "to form a new society". The "new society" means the perpetuation of the fascist dictatorship. It means nothing but the worsening of the old society. The old basic evils that are U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall continue to afflict semi-colonial and semi-feudal Philippines and shall aggravate the political and economic crisis of the ruling system and likewise the suffering of the broad masses of the people through the unmitigated puppetry, bankruptcy, brutality, corruption and mendacity of the Marcos fascist puppet dictatorship.

As confirmed by the statement of the U.S. State Department soon after Proclamation No. 1001, the instalment of the fascist dictatorship in the Philippines does not conflict with the interests of U.S. imperialism. In fact, U.S. imperialism is confidently behind the Marcos puppet dictatorship at the moment. The direct conspirators in the setting up of the fascist dictatorship have been the U.S. "country team" (which includes the U.S. ambassador, the C.I.A. chief of station, the A.I.D. director, the U.S.I.A. director and the

JUSMAG chief) and the board of directors and other top members of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines on the master side and the "internal security council" composed of Marcos, Melchor, Enrile, Generals Espino and Ramos of the general staff of the reactionary armed forces and a few others on the puppet side.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is the product of the vicious exploitation and oppression of the Filipino people by U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs for the last seven decades. It is the result of the rapid process of militarization and fascistization directed by U.S. imperialism during the Marcos puppet regime to preserve and enlarge its political and economic interests in the country. By trying to draw more superprofits and make up for the losses that they have incurred elsewhere in the world, the U.S. imperialist masters of the Marcos puppet gang have only exacerbated the suffering of the broad masses of the people and have thereby engendered popular resistance and a strong revolutionary mass movement. So powerful has the anti-imperialist and anti-puppet movement become that such a desperate measure as the instalment of a fascist dictatorship is resorted to. U.S. imperialism has always had the illusion that such fascist dictatorships as those of the Thieu regime in south Vietnam, Lon Nol regime in Cambodia, Suharto regime in Indonesia, Chiang regime in Taiwan and Pak regime in south Korea are more reliable and stable tools of imperialist rule.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship falls in with the "Nixon doctrine" that the Philippines must be kept no matter at what cost as a stronghold of counterrevolution in the determined bid of U.S. imperialism to remain a "Pacific power". From such an imperialist viewpoint, the most despicable measures must be taken in order to keep this archipelago in the Pacific a vassal state. A fascist gang like that of Marcos would just be too willing to implement these measures in exchange for an indefinite tenure of power in order to pile up more loot for itself. The fascist dictatorship is basically a desperate effort of U.S. imperialism to protect \$2.0 billion worth of U.S. investments (in anticipation of the end of "parity rights") and to maintain the Philippines as a strategic post in Asia.

U.S. imperialism is today extremely unsettled by the people's outcry for the confiscation of U.S.-owned lands including the improvements thereon (like buildings, factories, equipment and other installations) and also for the immediate dismantling of U.S. military bases which occupy large tracts of public lands. Even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle, U.S. imperialism has lately suffered so many big reverses that it has decided to resort to extraordinary measures with the use of the Marcos fascist gang. Just before Proclamation No. 1001, it was very clear that the bombing incidents and the corresponding "psy-war" campaign were being staged by the U.S.-Marcos clique in order to distract public attention from the strong legal grounds for demanding the immediate end of imperialist domination. It dawned upon the U.S. imperialists that even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle they were being hopelessly isolated. They had to hurry making use of the Marcos fascist gang which prated about "fairness" and "justice" for them against the popular demands for national emancipation.

The puppetry of the Marcos fascist gang is well proven. This gang has adopted and implemented to the letter every "recommendation" made by U.S. imperialism through such direct agents as the components of the U.S. "country team" and such other agents as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, U.S. monopoly firms, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and the like. The dictates of U.S. imperialism have always become the basic policies and projects of the Marcos fascist puppet regime. Some of the most notorious

policies and projects are the "floating rate" or the unabated rapid devaluation of the peso in relation to the U.S. dollar; sham negotiations on the unequal U.S.-R.P. treaties to achieve mere "adjustments"; "national treatment", "joint ventures" and "incentives"—special privileges for U.S. investments (non-expropriation, investment insurance, unlimited profit and dollar remittances, tax exemptions, drying up local credit sources, etc.); increasing local public debts and heavy foreign borrowings from the U.S. and "consortium" banks for non-productive projects; increasing taxes to raise counterpart funds for foreign loans and to support a military build-up; fascist training of the reactionary troops and police; the five-year programme for a "self-reliant defense posture"; special privileges for U.S. oil firms in oil exploration and in price-hiking; the "car manufacturing" scheme; free trade zones; and the reorganization plan of the Presidential Committee for the Survey of Philippine Education (P.C.S.P.E.) for the educational system.

Enjoying absolute powers vis-a-vis the Filipino people, the Marcos fascist gang knows no bounds for its puppetry. It will throw the door wider open for U.S. imperialism and other imperialist powers, especially Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism. The substance of old unequal treaties with the United States will stay either through retention, minor revision or drafting of new ones. The Philippines will continue to suffer violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and will remain a victim of superprofit remittances by the imperialist firms and banks. Because a civil war of a national scale is now on hand and the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will subsequently resort to the use of U.S. aggressor troops, despite the hypocritical claim of the "Mixon doctrine" about supplying war material rather than U.S. manpower, the colonial domination of the Philippines will become more direct and conspicuous in the years to come unless other drastically different conditions arise.

Because it has seized absolute power without so much pretenses about having the support of a broad range of political groups, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is exceptionally isolated at the moment and has to rely completely on its fascist troops. This extreme reliance on a parasitic and nonproductive military is bound to deepen the bankruptcy of the reactionary government. The present number of military personnel and equipment is not enough to maintain the fascist dictatorship for very long. Only 32,000 to 34,500 men or only about half of the present total of military personnel are combat effectives. Therefore, it is expected that it will increase military expenditures in order to increase the number of military personnel and equipment. The official 1972-73 military budget of \$1.2 billion has already been superseded. Even at the present troop level, military expenditures have already increased tremendously since the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has started to bribe the military personnel, from the rank of private first class upwards, with salary increases and allowances. The fascist dictatorship will certainly create more inflation through huge military expenditures. It will also have to increase taxes and its foreign debts by leaps and bounds.

To satisfy its greed and bloodthirstiness, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will become even more rabid in suppressing the democratic rights of the people. The workers will not only be prevented from launching strikes and maintaining their unions to raise their depressed real incomes and to assure themselves of job security but they will also have to suffer the unjust accusation that they are the cause of spiraling prices. The peasant masses will continue to be subjected to the most brutal military operations ostensibly against the armed revolutionaries and will be forced to accept the dictates of the big landlord class of which fascist puppet chieftain Marcos is the outstanding representative. The

students and their parents will be commanded to accept the rising cost of education and cost of living; student movements will continue to be the target of hysterical anti-communist propaganda, as in the case of trade unions and peasant associations. Teachers and other professionals will have to pay more taxes and will have to suffer more indignities in the hands of the military overlords who dictate on them what opinion to take on issues. Higher government taxes and special extortions from the military will bedevil all businessmen that are not in the good-graces of the dictatorship. These are only some of the concrete evils that will plague the country as a result of Proclamation No. 1001.

With absolute power in the hands of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and its military minions, unbridled corruption and brutality will go hand in hand to exacerbate the people's suffering. The dictator Marcos himself has long set the example of enriching himself in office more than any other puppet president and of exculpating his agents from the most heinous crimes, including massacres of workers, peasants, students, national minorities and even religious groups. With the suppression of democratic rights, every person and every group is now under blackmail by the fascist dictatorship and its agents. The dictatorship has not only seized every major legal channel of communication and suppressed democratic organizations but it has even outlawed the ordinary conversations of people regarding the present situation and has branded these as "rumormongering".

At present, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and his military minions can simply accuse anyone of being a "subversive", "conspirator" or "rumormonger" and extort anything from him at gunpoint. Through sheer coercion, the dictator Marcos will be able to acquire more stockholdings and landholdings. At every level of the reactionary government, his fascist minions will continue to do their own grabbing with more impunity. In the streets, the fascist troops will exact tribute more than in the past to the great annoyance of the local police whose most crooked members exact much less. In the campaign to seek out those who oppose the dictatorship, the most brutal measures will be taken such as those which have long made the U.S.-Marcos clique notorious. Kidnapping, torture, murder, arson and massacre have long been the political style of the Marcos fascist puppet gang. These can be committed by the fascist troops with more impunity, in both cities and countryside under Proclamation No. 1001.

The propaganda of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship keeps on harping about the sudden "peace and order" and "elimination of crime" as a result of Proclamation No. 1001. The truth is that fascist dictatorship is the biggest crime and cause of disorder. In the present "new society", people are massacred or arrested and detained indefinitely on false charges and manufactured evidence. There is no more safety in one's own home. Anytime, the fascist troops can barge in anywhere to dispose of persons and property in any manner they wish for their criminal ends. These minions of the dictatorship, together with their criminal associates (gangsters, informers, BSDUs and "honkees") arrogantly engage in extortion, robbery, torture, rape and other vicious crimes. And these do not get into the police blotter, simply because the victims do not want to become the accused before their abusers. By official record, there appears to be "peace and order" and "elimination of crime". But crime and disorder, products of an exploitative society, do not cease to exist just because the fascist-controlled mass media do not wish to report them.

Despite all attempts of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to suppress the truth, the facts of fascist abuse are so widespread and so blatant. The fascist dictatorship will become even more hopelessly isolated by the stench of its lies. The broad masses of the people will only be further angered by mendacious propaganda prettifying the fascist dictatorship as having eliminated crime, lowered the prices of basic

commodities, busted graft and corruption and rid the country off filth and pollution, whereas the contrary is the truth.

Deceptions even among a few people do not last long. The "new society" of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is nothing but a phrase that will go the way of all previous slogans of deception spewed out by the U.S.-Marcos clique. So long as the basic sources of evil in Philippine society are not eliminated, the manifestations of evil will always crop up. Marcos is nothing but the general representative of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class. What makes him even more distinctively so is that he has chosen to become a fascist dictator, a vicious running dog of U.S. imperialism, under conditions when the political and economic crisis of the ruling system is getting more and more acute every day. In the "new society", the basic sources of evil that are U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism will persist but will increasingly be under powerful assaults by the broad masses of the people. With a target as easy to hit as the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the Filipino people will rapidly become even more aware of their revolutionary strength, use it to destroy their enemies one by one and aim for a new Philippines that is genuinely and completely independent, democratic, united, just and prosperous.

Tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the New Situation

The setting up of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship through the declaration of an "unlimited form of martial law" and under the fascist principle that "all power can be given to the military" has brought about a new situation. Through the crude employment of armed coercion, dictator Marcos as commander-in-chief has arrogated unto himself and concentrated in his hands all executive, legislative and judicial powers. All of these powers are used not only against the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army but also against the broad masses of the people and all opposition to the perpetuation of a fascist dictatorship. Upon the setting up of this fascist dictatorship, the objective conditions for a civil war of a national scale have arisen. The entire Filipino people vehemently condemn the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship as anti-national, anti-republican, anti-democratic and decadent and are more determined than ever before to struggle for national democracy and, therefore, for a genuine republic that belongs to them.

It has long been pointed out and stressed to the U.S.-Marcos clique that people's war is the answer to martial law. Now that martial law is here, large masses of revolutionary militants and allied leaders of various forces all over the country have gone underground or have gone to the countryside from cities and towns and are resolutely taking every possible and necessary step to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Many times more than the previous suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the setting up of the fascist dictatorship has resulted in an increase of men and women eager and ready to do their share of fighting in the battlefield. With every national and democratic right suppressed, the broad masses of the people have more deeply realized the need to support or participate in people's war. The revolutionary stand of the Communist Party of the Philippines that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle at the present national democratic stage of the Philippine revolution has never before been clearer than now.

In the new situation, there are three things that stand out. First, the Communist Party of the Philippines is the most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle that calls for the armed overthrow of the fascist government. Second, the Party has the strongest and most experienced revolutionary army, the New People's Army. Third, the ranks of the revolutionary movement have greatly expanded and fighting

cadres as well as allies are all over the archipelago determined to conduct people's war. These things would not have stood out as clearly as now were it not for the fascist viciousness of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the party most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle because it is the most prepared to do so ideologically, politically and organizationally. By virtue of its adherence to and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, it can be relied upon to fight steadfastly in a protracted people's war and to deal with the problems of the Philippine revolution in the most comprehensive and correct manner. By virtue of its revolutionary politics, it can be relied upon to serve the toiling masses of workers and peasants, respect the legitimate interests of the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie and mobilize the biggest mass force to overthrow the tyrannical regime. By virtue of its organizational strength, it has emerged practically unscathed from the vicious blows so far made by the enemy under Proclamation No. 1081.

In so many years, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have been the target of all kinds of enemy operations and task forces and yet they have not only managed to preserve themselves and destroy the enemy part by part but have become even stronger through revolutionary struggle. To ensure the growth and development of people's war as a mass undertaking, the Party has indefatigably created Party branches and groups, organs of political power, mass organizations, people's organizing committees and various forms of fighting units such as the militia, the local guerrillas and the regular mobile (or several guerrilla units concentrated at appropriate times for big operations or a campaign of several battles). In the countryside, the Party is at the core of the New People's Army and is also in the forefront of the struggle to liberate the countryside and inhabitants of towns, provincial capitals and small cities. In the cities, the Party has carefully developed an underground for the worst of emergencies and has at the same time developed unbreakable links with the workers, the urban petty bourgeois and others.

While we consider the present situation far more favorable to the revolutionary movement than ever before, we should not relax in the false belief that the objective conditions are enough to carry us forward. We have to build up the revolutionary forces courageously, not only by waging the principal form of struggle which is armed struggle in the countryside but also by employing effective underground methods in the cities and towns and by using every possible means, legal and otherwise, to facilitate coordination of efforts, propaganda work, intelligence and internal communications as well as communications with allies throughout the archipelago. We should avoid rashness in our actions because the fascist dictatorship carries with it the license to do the worst possible harm against the Party, people's army and the people. We should advance carefully and steadily.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to join hands with all those who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. All those who are interested in achieving national freedom and democracy are welcome in joining with the Party in a broad national democratic front. Those who may participate in this united front are the democratic classes and strata, parties, groups and individuals. Independence and initiative are enjoyed by participants in this united front. But the single common objective of all is to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and institute a truly national and democratic regime. The success of the national democratic front can pave the way for a national coalition government where the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are fairly and justly

represented. The Party's Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution and also the ten-point guide drafted by the Party in connection with the drawing up of the programme of the National Democratic Front should be referred to as guide for forming a national alliance or local alliances of revolutionary forces.

In addition, we are hereby making a pledge to ourselves, to all our allies and to all our countrymen in the context of our programme for a people's democratic revolution:

1. To join up with all forces that are opposed to the fascist dictatorship of the U.S.-Marcos clique and conduct a firm revolutionary struggle to overthrow it;

2. To strengthen the New People's Army, boldly organize guerrilla units all over the archipelago and draw all possible cooperation from everyone opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship;

3. To help re-establish the democratic rights of all anti-fascist forces, including individuals, political parties, trade unions, mass organizations, mass media, religious organizations and all other people, and to take all steps towards a democratic coalition government;

4. To fight for the nullification of all acts of the fascist dictatorship that favor U.S. imperialism and the Marcos fascist clique, and to make possible the abrogation of all unequal treaties and agreements with the United States, especially those pertaining to direct investments, military bases, military assistance, military aggression and cultural aggression;

5. To pave the way for the arrest, trial before a people's court and punishment of the dictator Marcos and his richard accomplices for the setting up of a fascist dictatorship, bloody crimes against the people and enrichment in office, and make possible the confiscation of all ill-gotten wealth (capitalist and imperialist), and likewise those of all U.S. imperialist firms and agencies collaborating with it; and

6. To welcome to the revolutionary ranks those officers and men of the reactionary armed forces who turn at any time against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, provided they are not a mere faction of the military directed by U.S. imperialism to groom another puppet dictator.

Hereunder are a number of guidelines for developing or dealing with the various forces opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship:

1. The Party should vigorously fulfill its 1972 organizational and educational plan. Despite what appears to be the tightening of the situation due to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the fact is that the entire country has been made far more fertile than before for revolutionary seeding and growth. There is a great need for cadres and their nationwide deployment. So, the Central Committee is seeing to it that cadres are dispatched from certain regions to other regions. The correct relationship between expansion and consolidation and between the number of cadres in urban areas and that in the rural areas must be settled from time to time by regional party committees in their respective territories. They must take more initiative in building the Party, the New People's Army and the united front. Stress must be laid on mass work. The gauge of achievement is the quantity and quality of Party branches and groups, fighting units of the New People's Army, organs of political power, people's organizing committees and mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and cultural activists. Due to the emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, special attention must be paid to improving underground methods, especially in cities and towns, and in maintaining links over extensive areas.

2. The Party should assign more cadres of worker as well as petty-bourgeois background to the New People's Army. Those who can no longer conduct legal work or underground work in cities and towns should be dispatched to the people's army through the various regional Party committees. The people's army is the Party's principal form of organization and should be built as such. Party branches should be established at the company level or platoon level as the case may be and Party groups at the squad level and, in addition, Party branches should be established in localities. The main objective of the fascist dictatorship in the countryside today is the suppression of the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses. We should be good at preserving ourselves by destroying the enemy (fascist troops, spies, local tyrants and bad elements) on the wider scale of the countryside. The New People's Army is based mainly on the peasant masses, the majority class in Philippine society. Special attention should therefore be paid to realizing a genuine land reform program among them. Nothing will ever come out of the decree of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship proclaiming the implementation of the reactionary "land reform code" all over the country, except intensified feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression and, therefore, intensified resistance by the peasant masses. Whenever possible, land should be distributed free to the tillers who do not own land or who do not have enough. The nonpayment of land rent and other related measures can easily be effected when the peasant masses have been sufficiently aroused, organized and mobilized on a wide scale. This is also the best way of creating stable base areas. Wherever the guerrilla units of the New People's Army are, the least that should be done for the welfare of the peasant masses is to reduce land rent, eliminate usury and initiate mutual aid and exchange of labor. Peasant associations, with poor and lower middle peasants prevailing, should be established. Local militia units and guerrilla units should also be raised from the peasant ranks so as to defend their democratic gains. From the ranks of the guerrilla units, we draw the best fighters for the regular mobile forces of the New People's Army.

3. The Party should continue to build revolutionary trade unions and other suitable organizations (including open associations and secret workers' organizing committees) among the workers in workplaces and communities, despite the fascist ban on mass organizations and strikes. However, care must always be taken to prevent the enemy from identifying Party cadres and members. The more the fascist dictatorship badly goes after all kinds of workers' organizations, the more it will aggravate its already isolated position. The longer the workers' rights are suppressed, the more will the workers become fearless of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Their wages are buying less and less. They are also under greater threat of unemployment. The fascist dictatorship is mad enough to prevent the workers indefinitely from demanding through their unions and through strikes better working and living conditions. The violent suppression of workers' unions and strikes can only yield more determined fighters for the revolutionary cause, provided the Party does well its duty of arousing and mobilizing the workers. The Party should organize the workers in factories, mines, haciendas and other areas and raise their political consciousness in the light of the current political and economic crisis. Workers are quick in grasping the Marxist-Leninist ideology, provided this is properly communicated to them by Party cadres. The Party should accelerate its efforts to build Party branches in the workers' places of work and communities. Trade union work should always be combined with ideological and political work.

4. The Party should vigorously arouse and mobilize the student masses against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Although the democratic cultural revolution has already brought out a high degree of militance among them, the student masses could

be further guided by the Party in the new situation so that they can link up with the broad masses of the people and deliver the most effective blows against the fascist dictatorship. If it were not for the fear of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship of the student masses, the schools should have been opened on the Monday following Proclamation No. 1081. But the closure of schools for sometime cannot stop the student masses from recognizing what is wrong and acting against it. The longer the schools are closed, the more ready are the student masses for mass actions. First, the probing mass actions and other propaganda activities; then increasingly bigger mass actions. Various forms of open student organizations and underground coordinating committees can be set up to defy the fascist ban on basic democratic rights. In the case of quite a number of student leaders and other youth leaders, who are blacklisted and who will only be immobilized upon arrest, it is the Party's policy to dispatch them to the countryside or the underground, so long as they are already Party members or are willing to become Red fighters even if they are not yet Party members or even candidate members. Party groups which are in the midst of the student masses should systematically deploy groups of students to various provinces and towns to condemn the fascist dictatorship and arouse the people.

5. The Party should encourage not only the student masses but also all other sections of the intelligentsia to assert their national and democratic rights and speak out their views against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is anti-national to allow foreign-owned mass media like those owned by the Sorianos to make propaganda in support of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and at the same time prevent the Filipino people from speaking out their minds. It is anti-democratic to have only those reports and views supporting a fascist dictatorship disseminated. Teachers at all levels should be persuaded to propagate the national and democratic line among their co-teachers, students and the people and not to make anti-communist propaganda which would only serve to prolong the life of fascist dictatorship in the country. Special efforts should be exerted to get the active support of public school teachers. All government civilian employees should resist attempts of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to shift public funds to the military from their departments, disregard their civil service eligibilities or turn over their functions to military personnel. Like the teachers and ordinary government civilian employees, all professionals (doctors, nurses, engineers, journalists, lawyers and others) should be won over to the anti-fascist united front. If positive and progressive, their political influence on many other people is of great value to the revolution. Their direct services and material contribution to the revolution are much needed. The most progressive elements in the ranks of the intelligentsia can become Party members.

6. The Party should, aside from the intelligentsia, win over other sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In many various ways, they can extend practical support to the revolutionary cause. They can help spread the correct political line against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and they can also extend material support to the revolutionary movement. They are hard-pressed by the political and economic crisis worsening under the fascist dictatorship. The Party should consider the entire petty bourgeoisie as a basic motive force in the national democratic revolution and win it over in order to tilt the balance securely in favor of the revolutionary side.

7. The Party should win over members of the national bourgeoisie, in the cities and in the countryside, to give political and material support to the revolutionary movement. Since they themselves cannot be expected to bear arms against the enemy, they can extend to the revolutionary movement

support in cash or kind or allow use of their facilities. The Party should protect their legitimate interests against the wanton assaults of U.S. imperialism and the puppet dictatorship. The national bourgeoisie can join the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front and it will be amply represented in the national coalition government to be set up in the future.

8. The Party should support the struggle for self-determination or autonomy and also for democracy among the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao who have taken up arms. The armed struggle of the Maguindanaos, Maranaos, Tirurays, Tausugs and others is very significant. Efforts should be exerted in developing revolutionary forces in various parts of Mindanao, especially those outside of the "Muslim" areas; and unity between the national minorities and the poor settlers everywhere should be aimed for in accordance with the general line of national democratic revolution. The armed struggle in Mindanao can be so coordinated with the revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon and the Visayas that the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship would become exhausted from running to and fro, from far south to far north of the archipelago and vice versa. It should be the general policy of the Party all over the country to welcome all national minorities into the ranks of the revolutionary movement and to develop Party cadres and Red fighters among them.

9. The Party should seek and develop an anti-fascist united front at every possible level with the Liberal Party, with certain sections of the Nacionalista Party and various political groups and figures who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The attempt of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to monopolize power in the country has seriously harmed or put a serious threat to the interests of other reactionaries. The violent split developing among the reactionaries has been obvious since the emergence of the "private armies" and especially since the second Plaza Miranda massacre. Although the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will try to create the myth of "bipartisan" support for the "Marcos party", the political and economic contradictions among the reactionaries cannot be erased. There are various ways of cooperating with other political groups and figures. Since the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bent on disarming them at any cost, they might as well contribute or merely lend their arms to the New People's Army. They can also advise their following to cooperate with the people's army and they can give other kinds of material support. In return, such legitimate interests of theirs as those which do not harm the people can be protected. In cases where there are already armed groups fighting or determined to fight the fascist dictatorship, the New People's Army should be willing to reorganize them or integrate them into its ranks or simply coordinate with them as the case may be.

10. The Party should seek and develop an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front with religious groups and semi-religious groups that are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is noteworthy that there are a considerable number of patriotic and progressive priests and ministers who have merited being in the fascist blacklist. It must be always borne in mind that there are religious people who do not agree with the Party's ideology but who would agree with the Party's political programme and line.

11. The Party should draw all possible support from Filipinos abroad, especially the half-million Filipino immigrant workers, professionals and students in the United States. Together with their American and other foreign friends, they can form committees and associations, engage in mass actions and raise funds for their own propaganda activities all in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

be able to channel their material support to the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. Revolutionary friends of the Filipino people all over the world should also be encouraged to initiate committees and associations in support of the Filipino revolutionary struggle. The Filipino people should get all possible international support in the same spirit and manner as other peoples have done for their own revolutionary struggles. The peoples of the world are profoundly interested in the victory of the Philippine revolution against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. The Party should be guided by the lofty principle of proletarian internationalism in this regard.

12. The Party should perseveringly conduct by various means revolutionary propaganda among the officers and troops of the reactionary armed forces. Quite a number of them are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. As a matter of fact, there are three definite trends in the reactionary armed forces: the first one consists of those who support the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and who are gloating at the chance to abuse the people; the second one consists of those who oppose the Marcos fascist gang but who wish to have it replaced by coup d'etat with another reactionary regime which they consider "democratic"; and the third one consists of those who oppose the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and who agree with the principles of the Corpus-Taganilila Movement. The second trend can be subdivided into two: one is biding its time for the near-collapse of the Marcos fascist clique and will move only with assurances from U.S. imperialism; the other has various notions of anti-imperialism. Enemy officers and troops who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship should be encouraged to take the people's side and take the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist line. They can bring over their arms and join the New People's Army or temporarily establish and lead guerrilla units until such time that they can establish relations with the people's

army. The Party should also see to it that the policy of leniency is taken on captive enemy officers and men in order to disintegrate the reactionary armed forces. As the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship conscripts more troops and the people's suffering becomes even more unbearable, there will be more enemy officers and men who will recognize what is right and what is wrong and will gladly turn their arms against the people's exploiters and oppressors.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the New People's Army which it leads, declares that conditions for revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside have been tremendously enhanced by the emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Whereas before Proclamation No. 1081 only certain limited parts of the country were battlefields, these can now be boldly expanded throughout the archipelago. Furthermore, whereas before this proclamation it was not yet timely to launch certain limited forms of military operations in urban areas, these can now be done with due consideration given to the strategic line that the revolutionary forces will seize the cities from rural base areas.

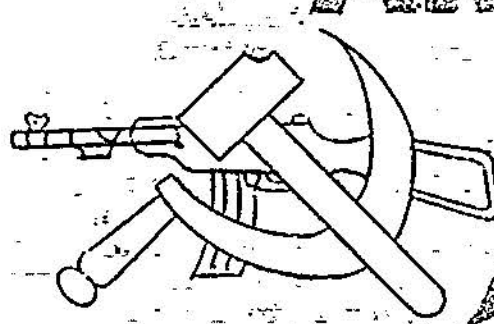
The broad masses of the people know how to deal with a mad bull like the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and they are determined to encircle it with the flames of people's war. The day will surely come when the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is turned to ashes and is finally consigned to the garbage heap of history. By that time, the comprehensive revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall have become a gigantic force, capable of carrying the Philippine revolution through to the end.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

October 1, 1972

ANG Bayan

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNURAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Special Release

(English Edition)

November 1, 1972

MARCOS LAND REFORM -- A BIG HOAX

The land reform touted by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship as "the cornerstone" of or chief pretext for its unjust and indefinite rule is a big hoax. The fascist dictatorship is in fact violently opposed to the fulfillment of the peasant demand for land, which is the main content of the people's democratic revolution.

Under Proclamation No. 1081, the peasant masses are prohibited from having their own militant associations and from asserting their democratic rights. Under conditions of martial rule, the reactionary armed forces have the license to commit all kinds of barbarities against the peasant masses. In areas where the peasant masses have valiantly stood up to oppose landlord oppression and exploitation, the fascist troops are concentrated by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship in order to suppress them and protect the landlord class.

The political and economic crisis, spawned by U.S. imperialism and domestic feudalism, has been aggravated by the greed and barbarism of the fascist dictatorship. The suffering of the peasant masses has been exacerbated by the rampaging fascist troops who inflict direct physical harm and disrupt their livelihood. Massacres, mass arrests, mass evacuation, zoning, looting, kidnapping, assassination, abuse of women, blackmail and extortion at checkpoints are being perpetrated with impunity mainly against the peasant masses, who even before martial rule could not seek redress for their grievances.

As the resistance of the peasant masses rises, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship shifts public funds to the reactionary armed forces in order to increase their numbers, equipment and antipopular operations. As a result, the reactionary government no longer has as much funds as before disposable for "land reform" and can no longer pretend as much as before to be for "land reform" by purchasing a few excessively overpriced estates from the landlord class and offering these for resale to tenants at prohibitive prices.

Presidential Decree No. 2 dated September 25, 1972 and Presidential Decree No. 27 dated October 21, 1972, two documents which the dictator Marcos boasts of as his masterpieces on "land reform", are consistent with the antidemocratic and counter-revolutionary character of Proclamation No. 1081. They are also consistent with the most obnoxious anti-peasant and pro-landlord provisions of the old Agricultural Land Reform Code (Rep. Act 3844) as well as of its latest modified version, the Code of Agrarian Reforms (embodying Rep. Act 6309).

The two presidential decrees do not get out of the old rut of all previous reactionary legislation on "land reform" which runs thus: if a tenant wants to get emancipated, he must pay for the landlord's land at "fair market value" or at the government's overprice; or he can start calling himself a "leaseholder" and pay to the landlord a fixed yearly rent equivalent to twenty-five per cent of the average yearly crop of three normal crop years, provided he shoulders all agricultural expenses and takes all risks, including those due to natural calamities and crop epidemics.

The land retention limit of seven hectares set on the landlords by Presidential Decree No. 27 is as pretended and false as any of the land retention limits set by previous legislation because in fact the tenant masses are required to buy out the landlords at "fair market value" or pay for the high redistribution price set by the reactionary government. In the first place, this government which promises to expropriate landed estates for redistribution and resale to the tenant masses is a political instrument of the landlords and has extremely limited cash and bonds for buying lands at the "fair market value" it has set as its own limit and burden in making expropriation.

It is utterly stupid of the dictator Marcos to boast that his presidential decrees are historically outstanding as they are original. It is redundant of Presidential Decree No. 2 to "proclaim the whole country as a land reform area". The Code of Agrarian Reforms did so in 1971 by declaring share tenancy throughout the country as contrary to public policy and by calling for its automatic conversion to agricultural leasehold.

And has Marcos easily forgotten that some years ago he heard the same pious generalities in Presidential Decree No. 27, about "the emancipation of the tenant from the bondage of the soil" and "transferring to them the ownership of the land they till and providing the instruments and mechanism therefor", from another demagogue? In 1963, Marcos as Senate president was at the side of Macapagal when the latter signed into law the Agricultural Land Reform Code and proclaimed the "emancipation" of the tenant masses and "abolition of tenancy".

The demagoguery of the dictator Marcos is definitely stale. But what is now most striking is the fact that his Presidential Decree No. 27 has artificially increased land prices and has further put the tenant masses in a position of ridicule under reactionary laws. This decree dictates a higher cost for acquiring land and in effect twits the tenant masses with the fact that they cannot afford to buy land from the landlords. Also, the dictator Marcos by his speech of October 21, 1972 has pronounced the policy that any transfer of land between landlord and tenant shall be strictly a transaction between the two and that the reactionary government shall be out of it. In other words, the reactionary government shall avoid engaging in the buy-and-sell of a few landed estates between landlord and tenant. It is to be expected that it would rather shift funds to the fascist military.

Presidential Decree No. 27 orders that the value of land shall be equivalent to two and one-half (2 1/2) times the average harvest of three normal crop years immediately preceding the promulgation of the decree. In addition, the decree orders that the total cost of the land, including interest at the rate of six per centum per annum, shall be paid by the tenant in fifteen (15) years of fifteen (15) equal annual amortizations. The entire formula set by the fascist dictator for the acquisition of lands from the landlords is simply ridiculous.

Let us translate what appears to be small numbers in the presidential decree into their real dimensions. Assume that the tenanted land is three hectares, irrigated and two-cropped and that the average yield is fifty (50) cavans of palay per hectare per crop. The total annual yield of the entire tenanted land is, therefore, three hundred (300) cavans of palay. Assume that the agreed price of a cavan of palay is twenty-five pesos (P25), which is the current floor price set by the National Grains Authority. The figure that comes out is P7,500; it is the money equivalent of the average annual crop. Multiply this by two and one-half (2 1/2). The figure that comes out next is P18,750. This is supposed to be the cost of the three-hectare land, if only the tenant could pay in cash immediately.

At the unqualified interest rate of six per centum per annum, the total interest charges on ₱18,750 in fifteen years can range from ₱9,000 to ₱16,875. The final total cost of the entire land would therefore range from ₱27,750 to ₱35,625. Divide these figures by fifteen (15) in order to arrive at the fifteen (15) equal annual amortizations. The figures range from ₱1,850 to ₱2,375.

The per-hectare value of the land, without interest charges, is ₱6,250. This is far higher than the ₱4,149 per-hectare value of land (including a few urban estates) bought by the Land Bank from 1966 to 1971 under the Agricultural Land Reform Code. It may be argued that land prices have gone up since then. But it may be riposted that the value of ₱4,149 per hectare even includes a few higher-valued urban estates and, of course, the overpricing that ordinarily goes into transactions between the reactionary government and the landlords. The best thing to do in order to see how exorbitant a price is ₱6,250 is to go around and observe comparable lands and their current prices. If interest charges ranging from ₱3,000 to ₱5,625 per-hectare are added to the principal cost of the land, then the total cost per hectare ranges from ₱9,250 to ₱11,875. In most areas, the land that we speak of can be bought at a price below ₱4,000 per hectare. Presidential Decree No. 27, therefore, gives more than ever a better deal to the landlords and a worse deal to anyone who is baited into believing the bogus land reform of the fascist dictatorship.

Going back to the question of equal annual amortizations, let us now ask if a tenant on a three-hectare, irrigated and two-cropped land can really save and put up an amount ranging from ₱1,850 to ₱2,375 every year and for fifteen years! The answer can be gotten from the masses themselves. Under conditions of increasing inflation under the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the tenant family has to pay more for basic commodities (other than grain and vegetables in the backyard) for its subsistence. It has to pay more for fertilizers; pesticides; irrigation fees; hauling; and other agricultural costs requiring cash outlays. Then, there are other agricultural costs in the main involving grain outlays, as in seeding, planting, weeding, harvesting, threshing and milling. If the tenant has no work animals or implements, he has to rent them from the landlords or the rich peasants. At the end of every year, there is not much grain or cash left for any tenant family to ever hope that he can buy out the landlord.

Under conditions of want and hard toil, every tenant family is usually beset within fifteen years by a number of major illnesses, involving heavy medical expenditures or even temporary disability or death of the principal tiller. Within the same long period, calamities like floods, drought, crop infestation and the like is likely to occur. All these can disrupt the timetable of amortizations. If for one year he is in default of payments, the prospective owner-cultivator will never be able to recover financially and will have to suffer complete loss of the land he has hoped to own.

The risks involved in the attempt to buy land from the landlord are exceedingly great for a tenant. Obviously, it is for this reason that Presidential Decree No. 27 requires him to join a "cooperative" first before being allowed to get into the act of trying to buy the land on which he is a tenant. This "cooperative", an underling of the landlords' rural banks or the landlord-dominated government, is supposed to guarantee amortizations to the landlord and at the same time stands guard to take over the land lest the land buyer goes in default. Ultimately, the tenant goes back to being a tenant after his futile effort to conform to the bogus land reform or, in other words, the laws of the landlord. The land that he has hoped to own also reverts to the landlord class through a bogus cooperative or the reactionary government.

Not a single poor share-tenant has been or can ever be emancipated by Presidential Decree No. 2 and Presidential Decree No. 27. Yet, as if a few glittering phrases would suffice to obscure the truth, the propaganda machinery of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has been endlessly claiming that the presidential decrees have already emancipated 715,000 tenants on 1.5 million hectares and distributed to each of them either 3 hectares of irrigated land or 5 hectares of unirrigated land. Anyone with the simplest knowledge of arithmetic will immediately see the Marcos propaganda as a cheap lie. Out of 1.5 million hectares, there can only be 2.1 hectares for every one of 715,000 tenants. Furthermore, the number of tenants in the Philippines is not as small as 715,000 and also the extent of landlords' holdings devoted to rice and corn is not as small as 1.5 million hectares.

One more myth spewed out by the propaganda machinery of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is that land reform is being conducted by the reactionary government in Cagayan Valley. The truth is that the reactionary armed forces are trying by all-out brute force to suppress the revolutionary peasant masses and protect the landlord class. The big landlord Marcos himself is rabidly trying to keep his landed estate of more than 22,000 hectares in the face of the surging revolutionary movement. This landed estate extending from Cordon, Isabela to Diffun, Nueva Vizcaya is the biggest of its kind north of Manila and is the most conspicuous landmark of feudalism in Cagayan Valley. It is also the most scandalous example of land grabbed from poor tenants and settlers.

The Tabacalera Estate of 11,000 hectares has long been offered for sale to the reactionary government by its foreign owners who are terribly afraid of the genuine land reform program of the revolutionary movement. They want to sell the land at an overprice and at the same time contract the reactionary government to deliver tobacco and other agricultural products to them. They want the reactionary government to secure the land from the revolutionary peasant masses and not really to make the land the object of any land reform. Should the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship finally buy the land, it would be at an overprice and the landless tillers would not be able to afford the redistribution price.

With regard to the problems of land reform, there is nothing new to expect from the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship except the worsening of the plight of the peasant masses. The Department of Agrarian Reforms created by the Code of Agrarian Reforms has been assigned by the fascist dictator to work out the details of his "land reform" decrees. This department will go the way of its predecessors, such as the National Land Reform Council, the Land Authority and the like. It will be nothing more than a bureaucratic set-up for protecting the landlord class and demanding payments for land expropriated at an overprice from a few landlords. The emancipation of the tenant masses and the abolition of the "system of sharecrop and lease-tenancy" have become more gigantic impossibilities under the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship by virtue of Proclamation No. 27 setting the price of land even above "fair market value". What does it profit a poor peasant anyway even if the Land Bank exhausts its funds in buying only a few landed estates. He will still have to pay the heavy price of redistribution.

From 1965 to 1971, the long period during which the Agricultural Land Reform Code was in effect until it was relabelled Code of Agrarian Reforms, the reactionary government "appropriated" 71.3 billion and actually released a total of ₱399.24 million to the various "land reform" agencies. Out of the large amount actually released, only the measly amount of ₱36.32 million was released specifically to the Land Bank, which in turn spent only ₱16,002,900 to purchase 32 landed estates having the total size of only 3,876 hectares. The total size of the expropriated estates is equivalent to a measly portion of one Marcos hacienda. Now, we ask whether a single poor peasant, lower middle peasant or farm worker ever succeeded during the last seven years in becoming a full owner of a family-size plot from any of these expropriated estates. Not a single one. Most of the 2,268 tenants of these estates have gone in default of their amortizations as in all cases of expropriation and redistribution before 1965. It is only the rich peasants and upper middle peasants who can keep up with the schedule of amortizations because in the first place they have some amount of surplus lands or have more than enough work animals as well as better farm implements.

There is nothing in the past and there is also nothing in the present to show or indicate that the reactionary government, especially as it is now under a fascist dictatorship, can implement a genuine land reform program. It is important to expose and condemn the past record of the U.S.-Marcos regime on the land problem and likewise the present hoax about land reform being drummed up by the Marcos propaganda machinery. And, it is even more important to demonstrate by word and deed that the agrarian revolution being carried out by the peasant masses and the New People's Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines is the true solution to the problem of feudalism and semifeudalism. All revolutionaries should propagate and implement the Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform under the banner of the people's democratic revolution.

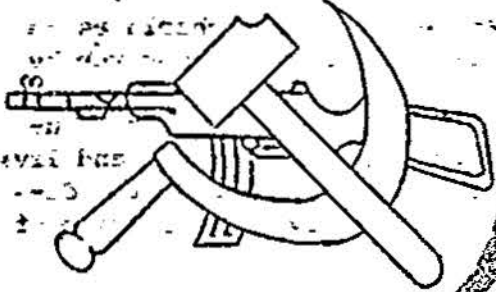
Our land reform program has a minimum goal and a maximum goal. The minimum goal is to reduce land rent to at least ten per cent of the net crop, eliminate usury completely and develop multipurpose cooperation among the poor peasants, lower middle peasants and farm workers. The maximum goal is to confiscate the lands of the landlords and distribute them free to the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants, farm workers and all other impoverished people who are willing to till the soil but who have no land. The achievement of these goals are interconnected with the comprehensive achievement of the people's democratic revolution.

As they come to fully grasp our land reform programme on a national scale, the millions of oppressed and exploited peasants will stir up a great storm to sweep away the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. They will bring about their own total emancipation. At the same time, they will consistently provide the strongest and biggest possible mass support for the people's democratic revolution.

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PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Bayan

News Release

(English Edition)

November 15, 1972

REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM
IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP

The revolutionary propaganda movement against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship continues to gain momentum despite severe fascist restrictions. It has served to frustrate the illusion of the fascist dictatorship that it could stem the tide of popular resistance to its oppressive and exploitative rule through the imposition of martial law throughout the country.

With the illegalization of progressive mass organizations and the forcible closure of all mass media critical of his policies and acts, the fascist dictator Marcos has resorted to fever pitch his campaign of counterrevolutionary propaganda through the mass media which he personally owns as well as those that the government or his close associates own. This has necessitated the employment of various forms of revolutionary propaganda to further unmask the criminal character of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and the adoption of various ways to reach the greatest possible number of people.

Immediately after the imposition of martial rule, revolutionary mass organizations forced to go underground issued their own statements through their respective official publications condemning the fascist act and calling on the people to unite and fight the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Within a short period, and specially after the statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines on October 1, many other revolutionary publications have been effectively circulated.

Revolutionary publications that have emerged include Liberation, Taliba ng Bayan, Bangon (illustrated), Ulos, Bagong Muog ng Maynila, The Report, The Rebel Pandayan, Ang Taong Bayan, Kasarinlan, Citizen, Ka-ingat Kayo and Tinig ng Masa. Many progressive groups have also begun to put out their own publications which unanimously condemn the wanton trampling of the democratic rights of the people. These do not include such publications as Bandilang Pula, Kalayaan and Bantayog which had been in existence long before the imposition of martial rule and still continue to come out regularly.

In the Manila-Rizal region, underground organizations at various levels under the guidance of Party cadres continue to publish news about the criminal abuses of the reactionary armed forces. Revolutionary propagandists in the region have forged close links with the masses and are in the best position to recount and popularize the various forms of the people's resistance to fascist dictatorship.

In the other regions in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, the regional Party organizations have their own publications to rally and inspire the people in their areas. English and Pilipino editions as well as editions in various dialects are put out to reach as many sectors, groups and people as possible. Leading groups of national

mass organizations have also enjoined their regional chapters to put out their own publications.

The resumption of classes throughout the country has reopened the schools as an important fighting front for revolutionary propagandists. Rebel publications run by secret student revolutionary committees have become the main written medium to express the militance of the revolutionary student youth. Generally speaking, these revolutionary underground publications are characterized by a fresh straightforward and lively style, are replete with concrete and typical events, and correctly sum up the developments. Efforts are being exerted to insure accurate and timely dissemination of information.

The revolutionary mass organizations have continued to issue from the underground timely manifestoes, leaflets, pamphlets, handbills and illustrated works which focus on specific issues. They give critical analysis of the various counterrevolutionary acts of the U.S.-Marcos regime and point out the necessity of united efforts to resist them.

The banning of legal and open propaganda against the fascist dictatorship, far from effectively restricting the initiative of the revolutionary propagandists, has only given full play to their creativeness. In communities, factories and schools, they have employed such methods as writing "chain letters" condemning the fascist dictatorship, sticking paper tapes with revolutionary slogans, scribbling of protests on walls and other public places, carefully planned house-to-house distribution of leaflets, typewritten and handwritten reproduction of propaganda materials, and launching "operation paskel" and "operation pinta" wherever and whenever circumstances permit.

Even religious groups have manifested their opposition to the imposition of martial rule. Priests and ministers have delivered sermons critical of martial law and, together with their congregations, have written petitions and issued manifestoes in defense of those who have been unjustly persecuted by the fascist dictatorship.

Revolutionary propagandists have also utilized street crowds, public celebrations, religious meetings, processions, sports events, family gatherings and other social gatherings to distribute propaganda materials. Written propaganda materials were circulated and "operation paskel and pinta" was launched successfully in the course of the La Naval procession of October 8 and All Saints' Day on November 1.

To supplement written materials, revolutionary propagandists have also devised and encouraged other forms of propaganda. Secret discussion groups have been organized in communities, factories and schools not only to facilitate the transmission of news but also to adopt correct methods of action.

Organized mass actions of defiance have also been tried successfully. In some schools, for example, militant students have employed the collective wearing of black ribbons signifying the death of democracy and the singing of protest songs. In others, the synchronized shouting of slogans, tapping of classroom desks and walls and of spoons, forks and trays in canteens at certain periods of the day have also been employed. Such acts of mass defiance have struck terror in the hearts of the fascists on school campuses.

Different cultural groups have also succeeded in giving performances in the communities with the strong support of the local people. Ingeniously adapted to the new conditions, these performances are held in alleyways, warehouses and other places out of enemy sight. What is most significant about these is that, as in the ten-minute lightning rallies held in wide open places, the people themselves offer to stand guard and warn the crowd of the arrival of the fascist brutes. To further boost the revolutionary propaganda movement, cultural cadres have led in composing protest songs and poems which serve to inspire revolutionary optimism among the people and reproducing in ever increasing numbers cartoons and other art works depicting the people's resistance to fascist brutality.

One great achievement of revolutionary propaganda under the present condition is that it has once more proven the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is the most prepared, the most organized and the most consistent revolutionary force

capable of delivering mortal blows at the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Through the unremitting efforts of Party cadres who are now systematically assigned to propaganda work in the different regions of the country, the programme for a people's democratic revolution as well as other policy statements of the Party are more than ever gaining nationwide acceptance among the various oppressed and exploited classes and sectors.

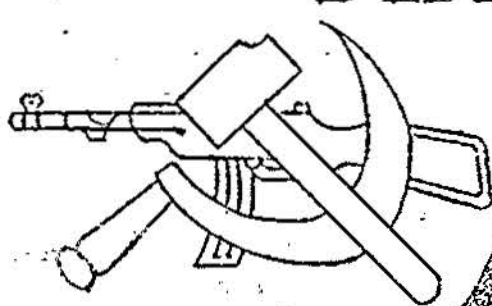
At present, cadres and activists in the propaganda front should exert more efforts to raise the level of propaganda work in terms of quality and quantity. Not only must they pay attention to the content of our propaganda materials but they should also surpass in quantity those that were put out before the imposition of martial law.

There is no limit to what the revolutionary masses can do so long as they are mobilized and organized. Relying on their own efforts and on the creativity and resourcefulness of the masses, our revolutionary propagandists can certainly surmount difficulties and bring the national-democratic cultural revolution to a new high. Our success in this endeavor will help bring about the groundswell of popular protest and resistance that will wreck the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

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PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Bayan

Special Release

(English Edition)

December 5, 1972

THE "NEW CONSTITUTION" IS A LICENSE OF THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO FURTHER OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

Taking full advantage of its martial rule, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has been able by armed force, bribery and deceit to ram through the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention a "new constitution" which endorses Proclamation No. 1081, allows the fascist dictator Marcos to remain in power for as long as he can beyond 1973 and perpetuates the vile interests of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Attention needs to be focused on Article XVII entitled "Transitory Provisions" and on Article XIV entitled "The National Economy and the Patrimony of the Nation" in order to expose and condemn the antinational and antidemocratic character of the "new constitution". Let us annotate the most counterrevolutionary provisions under these articles.

ON ARTICLE XVII. "TRANSITORY PROVISIONS"

Section 1. There shall be an interim National Assembly which shall exist immediately upon the ratification of this Constitution and shall continue until the members of the regular National Assembly shall have been elected and shall have assumed office following an election called for the purpose by the interim National Assembly. Except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, the interim National Assembly shall have the same powers and its members shall have the same functions, responsibilities, rights, privileges, and disqualifications as the regular National Assembly and the members thereof.

There is no definite time limit for the existence of this *interim* national assembly. It all depends on the pleasure of this *interim* national assembly or even more precisely on the fascist dictator Marcos as to when an election shall be called to elect the regular members of the national assembly.

It is self-serving enough for delegates of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in the convention to include themselves as members of this *interim* national assembly. Together with other cohorts of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, they shall always misrepresent their selfish interests as public interest and prolong their enjoyment of the powers and privileges of members of the regular national assembly.

These scoundrels in the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention have not made any kind of protest regarding the gross violations of their supposed parliamentary immunity, the forcible camp detention and house arrest of several convention

delegates who have stood against the dictates of the U.S.-Marcos clique. Instead, they have been bribed into approving the "new constitution" that is actually the handiwork of Malacanang. Among the privileges that each delegate stands to gain as member of the *interim* national assembly are annual salaries and allowances amounting to at least ₱200,000, aside from a still bigger income derivable from other nefarious activities related to "parliamentary" work. As a whole, the *interim* national assembly shall be an extremely expensive affair, with no less than 400 members drawing huge salaries and allowances. This shall be far more expensive than the outgoing Congress which has far less members and personnel.

Section 2. The members of the interim National Assembly shall be the incumbent President and Vice-President of the Philippines, those who served as President of the nineteen hundred and seventy-one Constitutional Convention, those members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who shall express in writing to the Commission on Elections within thirty days after the ratification of this Constitution their option to serve therein, and those delegates to the nineteen hundred and seventy-one Constitutional Convention who have opted to serve therein by voting affirmatively for this Article. They may take their oath of office before any officer authorized to administer oath and qualify thereto, after the ratification of this Constitution.

This section seeks to cover up the illegality and unconstitutionality of General Order No. 1 and certain presidential decrees (like Presidential Decree No. 1 and the like) by which the fascist dictator has asserted his absolute authority over all branches of the government and usurped the legislative authority of the Senate and the House of Representatives. General Order No. 1 renders Congress inutile and even nonexistent, despite the elective status of its members. Presidential Decree No. 1 and similar decrees arrogantly declare certain bills still pending in Congress as "part of the law of the land".

What is exceedingly callous about the section above is that only three persons, especially the person who stands to gain most, the fascist dictator Marcos himself, are automatically members of the *interim* national assembly while all members of the Senate and the House of Representatives and all delegates of the reactionary constitutional convention are not automatically so. It is obvious that this section is intended to force and at the same time cajole the members of Congress and the convention delegates into working for the "ratification" of the "new constitution" or else suffer the consequences of political discrimination.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship hopes that by this section it can automatically and permanently put out of commission those members of Congress and convention delegates whom fascist dictator Marcos has put under camp detention, house arrest and death threat. When the voting was held on the "transitory provisions" last October 26, convention delegates had to secure "safe-conduct passes" from the Marcos hatchetman Enrile in order to be allowed into the convention hall. By virtue of Section 3 (2) hereunder, several senators and congressmen opposed to the fascist dictatorship will not as a matter of principle be able to express in writing to the Commission on Elections their option to join the *interim* national assembly.

Section 3. (1). The incumbent President of the Philippines shall initially convene the interim National Assembly and shall preside over its sessions until the interim Speaker shall have been elected. He shall continue to exercise his powers and prerogatives under the nineteen hundred and thirty-five Constitution and the powers vested in the President and the Prime Minister under this Constitution until he calls upon the interim National Assembly to elect the interim President and the interim Prime Minister who shall then exercise their respective powers vested by this Constitution.

(2) All proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, and acts promulgated, issued, or done by the incumbent President shall be part of the law of the land, and shall remain valid, legal, binding, and effective even after the lifting of the martial law or the ratification of this Constitution, unless modified, revoked, or superseded by subsequent proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, or other acts of the incumbent President, or unless expressly and explicitly modified or repealed by the regular National Assembly.

This section, with its two paragraphs, is the core of all the "transitory provisions" and even of the entire "new constitution". The fascist dictator Marcos shall continue to concentrate all powers in his hands in his three and contradictory capacities as president under the 1935 constitution and as president and prime minister under the "new constitution". He shall exercise the powers and prerogatives of the president under the 1935 constitution and yet he shall not necessarily be bound by the obligation set by the same constitution that he shall have to step down from the presidency in 1973, after he shall have served eight consecutive years as president. His powers and prerogatives shall be as absolute and unlimited as ever. Upon the "ratification" of the "new constitution", all his proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions and acts shall be "part of the law of the land" (and the supreme part at that) and shall remain valid, legal, binding, and effective even after the formal lifting of martial law. In other words, a fascist dictatorship shall persist.

The first paragraph shows that the fascist dictator Marcos does not have full trust in the *interim* national assembly though this assemblage shall surely be at the beginning composed of members who are prevalently his agents. Thus, it is not the *interim* national assembly but it is explicitly he alone who shall decide when the *interim* national assembly shall elect the *interim* president and *interim* prime minister. Going by his self-interest, Marcos shall be able to keep himself in power for as long as he can and shall prevent for as long as he can the election of the *interim* president and *interim* prime minister. Outside and inside the *interim* national assembly, he has the powers and prerogatives to suppress any demand for such an election within the *interim* national assembly. However, he shall also be able to call for such an election and assure himself of being elected *interim* prime minister. He may do so, especially in face of the fact that after 1973 he shall be vulnerable to questions involving the provision in the 1935 constitution that a president cannot retain his office for more than eight consecutive years.

The second paragraph makes the fascist dictator more powerful than the entire *interim* national assembly. While the *interim* national assembly is in office, he shall have the supreme power of enforcing his old proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions and acts and also promulgating new ones above and beyond the *interim* national assembly. Thus, this *interim* national assembly shall in principle and practice be inferior to one person and shall have no decorative value for the fascist dictatorship. If only the incumbent president or the regular national assembly, but not the *interim* national assembly, shall have the power to modify, revoke or supersede the proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions and acts of the incumbent president, then what is the point in the aforementioned Section 1 (second sentence) stating that the *interim* national assembly shall have the same powers as the regular national assembly? Under the above Section 3 (1) and (2), the *interim* national assembly shall merely be the rubber stamp of the fascist dictator. In effect, the provisional or *interim* government shall not have the least shred of the parliamentary form. It shall have a superpresidential, dictatorial and fascist form reflective of what makes the present regime entirely anomalous.

Section 5. The interim National Assembly shall give priority to measures for the orderly transition from the presidential to the parliamentary system, the reorganization of the Government, the eradication of graft and corruption, the effective maintenance of peace and order, the implementation of declared agrarian reforms, the standardization of compensation of government employees and such other measures as shall bridge the gap between the rich and the poor.

It is obvious by this section that the *interim* national assembly and the fascist dictator Marcos intend to keep themselves in office for as long as they can. Their declared intention is to perform not the functions of a transitional government that may last for one year or so but those of a long-term government that may last for several more years. The preposterous slogan of "save the republic and build a new society" expresses the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship's pipe dream of suppressing the people and reigning forever.

At any rate, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship talks of government reorganization and standardization of compensation of government employees only to tighten its control over all branches of the government by armed intimidation, build up and shift funds to the fascist military, lay off a great number of civilian government employees, disregard elective and civil service status of lesser officials, promote sycophants and

increase their salaries at the expense of middle and low-ranking employees. It talks of eradicating graft and corruption but the fascist dictator Marcos and his cronies have been for so many years the biggest and blackest perpetrators of malfeasance in the reactionary government. Marcos himself is the most notoriously undesirable character in the reactionary government. He has enriched himself in office in a manner that would make all previous presidents petty thieves. He has had a big cut in every major government contract or major business deal where government permission or guarantees are required. His large stockholdings and landholdings mostly under the names of dummies (Benedicto, Montelibano, Cojuangco, Zobel, Menzi, Elizalde, Silverio and others) have been acquired through abuse of political authority.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship talks of peace and order only to unleash the most vicious fascist crimes against the great masses of peasants, workers, students, teachers, professionals, women, small and medium businessmen, national minorities and even against the legal oppositionists in the Liberal Party and the Nacionalista Party. Behind the drive to collect high-powered firearms is the scheme of the fascist dictatorship to monopolize firearms and suppress the people and all possible opposition. Wanting to impose a "peace and order" for the benefit of the exploiting classes, the fascist dictatorship has on its part intensified counterrevolutionary violence and made it necessary for the people on their part to intensify revolutionary violence. The Marcos mass media may monopolize all legal news channels and impose a news blackout on the people's resistance but the fact is that revolutionary armed struggle has spread more rapidly from the northern end to the southern end of the Philippines since Proclamation No. 1081.

It is simply incongruous for the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to talk about bridging the gap between the rich and the poor. The truth is that it has taken every step to aggravate the exploitation of the broad masses of the people. The "new constitution" revolves around the term "just compensation" to preserve the interests of the big bourgeoisie (foreign monopolies and the big compradors) and the landlord class. Presidential Decree No. 27 has served only to artificially raise the price of the landlord's land and taunt the tenant masses that they cannot really buy out the landlords. We shall further discuss the intensification of imperialist, big comprador, landlord and bureaucrat exploitation under the fascist dictatorship.

Section 9. All officials and employees in the existing Government of the Republic of the Philippines shall continue in office until otherwise provided by law or decreed by the incumbent President of the Philippines, but all officials whose appointments are by this Constitution vested in the Prime Minister shall vacate their respective offices upon the appointment and qualification of their successors.

Section 10. The incumbent members of the Judiciary may continue in office until they reach the age of seventy years, unless sooner replaced in accordance with the preceding section hereof.

It is clear by these two sections that those in the service of the reactionary government shall continue to be completely at the mercy of the fascist dictatorship as under General Order No. 11, General Order No. 3 and Presidential Decree No. 1. But what interests the fascist Marcos most in these two sections is that he can change the present composition of the Supreme Court as he pleases and also make all the courts consistent instruments of his most antinational and antidemocratic executive fiat.

Under Section 4 of Article X entitled "The Judiciary", which provides that the members of the Supreme Court and judges of inferior courts shall be appointed by the prime minister, and under Section 1 (1) of the same article, which provides that the Supreme Court shall be composed of a chief justice and fourteen associate justices, the fascist dictator Marcos shall be able to continue threatening the present justices of the Supreme Court with replacement and shall also be able to simply add four more justices of his own choosing to the present eleven justices in order to make the Supreme Court a thoroughly rabid instrument of the fascist dictatorship.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship hopes to ensure that the Supreme Court shall continue to act in favor of the dictatorship in all cases involving Proclamation No. 1081. Even now, the present Supreme Court composed mostly of Marcos appointees has allowed the cases of political detainees to be overtaken by the "new constitution".

It is this same court which previously swallowed hook-line-and-sinker the tale of the Marcos fascist gang about the "July-August Plan" in 1971. Like the "judicial" appendage of any dictatorship, it has been an accomplice in the commission of fascist crimes.

Section 11. The rights and privileges granted to citizens of the United States or to corporations or associations owned or controlled by such citizens under the Ordinance appended to the nineteen hundred and thirty-five Constitution shall automatically terminate on the third day of July, nineteen hundred and seventy-four. Titles to private lands acquired by such persons before such date shall be valid as against other private persons only.

Section 12. All treaties, executive agreements, and contracts entered into by the Government or any subdivision, agency, or instrumentality thereof, including government-owned or controlled corporations, are hereby recognized as legal, valid, and binding. When the national interest so requires, the incumbent President of the Republic or the interim Prime Minister may review all contracts, concessions, permits, or other forms of privileges for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of natural resources entered into, granted, issued, or acquired before the ratification of this Constitution.

The first sentence of Section 11 above appears to be progressive in the sense that it provides for the termination of the rights and privileges of U.S. business entities under the Parity Amendment on July 3, 1974. But in fact the second sentence negates what the first sentence provides. The second sentence protects U.S. entities and assures them of continued enjoyment of the lands (and improvements thereon) which they have unconstitutionally and illegally acquired. Elsewhere, the "new constitution" also requires "just compensation" for the take-over by the state of any private property. These constitute the complete negation or reversal of the recent supreme court decision on the Quasha case. The "new constitution" can be used to oppose the principle that U.S. entities have no right to own private lands in the Philippines and that the lands and improvements thereon (including structures and other investments) which have been illegally acquired are subject either to retrieval by previous private owners or confiscation by the state.

In this regard, the fascist dictator Marcos has been most vociferous in calling on U.S. business entities to create interlocking dummy corporations (where U.S. entities may own as much as 40 per cent equity) to serve as "owners" of the lands and also in assuring them of "just compensation" with regard to the dim possibility that the state may decide and act to expropriate these lands from them. All these serve to keep U.S. business entities in undiminished ownership and control of Philippine lands. They are all calculated to defeat the people's clamor for confiscation of the illegal U.S. landholdings, including the structures and investments thereon.

Section 12 throws away the provision under the 1935 constitution (Section 7, Article VII) that treaties entered into by the president need the concurrence or final ratification of the Philippine Senate in order to become binding and effective. Under the "new constitution", it shall suffice for the fascist dictator Marcos and his executive agents to enter into treaties, executive agreements, and contracts with other countries and foreign entities and these shall immediately be recognized as legal, valid and binding. U.S. imperialism is certainly anxious now to arrange with their chief Filipino puppet a "treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation" in order to carry over the worst features of the Laurel-Langley Agreement that is to terminate soon. Also, the Japanese zaibatsus must be more hopeful now than before that the Japan-Philippine "treaty of amity, commerce and navigation" will be ratified by the fascist dictator; this will be far better for them than individual business licenses for "liaison offices" which Marcos used previously to circumvent the nonratification of the aforesaid draft treaty.

As an autocratic head of state, the incumbent president Marcos may also review all contracts, concessions, permits or other forms of privileges for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of natural resources entered into, granted, issued or acquired even before the ratification of the "new constitution". This means to say that he shall have absolute power to deal with U.S. imperialism and other foreign monopolies in any way and that he shall be in a position to amass wealth even more viciously than when he was supposed to have enjoyed less power in the days before Proclamation No. 1081.

It is absolutely clear that the fascist dictator Marcos has been propped up precisely to protect and step up the oppressive and exploitative interests of U.S. imperialism and other related forces. In the succeeding discussion on certain provisions of Article XIV, we shall be able to see even more clearly that U.S. imperialism, together with its most rabid local running dogs, is behind the fascist dictatorship and the "new constitution". The most extraordinary measures are taken by the most rabid local reactionaries whenever the interests of U.S. imperialism are at stake and whenever the dominance of these need renewal and expansion. The forcible making of the fascist dictatorship and the "new constitution" is directly related to the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement. It is an event exceedingly comparable to the forcible making of the fascistic Roxas regime and the adoption of the Parity Amendment and the Bell Trade Act.

ON ARTICLE XIV. THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE PATRIMONY OF THE NATION

Section 1. The National Assembly shall establish a National Economic and Development Authority, to be headed by the Prime Minister, which shall recommend to the National Assembly, after consultation with the private sector, local government units, and other appropriate public agencies, continuing, coordinated, and fully integrated social and economic plans and programs.

Section 3. The National Assembly shall, upon recommendation of the National Economic and Development Authority, reserve to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or associations wholly owned by such citizens, certain traditional areas of investments when the national interest so dictates.

The National Economic and Development Authority will be the cloak for the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship in plundering the social wealth of the country. It will be no better than all or any of such agencies as the National Economic Council, the Presidential Economic Staff, the Board of Investments and the like. It shall continue to extend to foreign investors and big local compradors such special privileges and incentives as those carried by the Investment Incentives Act, Export Incentives Act and the like.

As the head of the National Economic and Development Authority, the fascist dictator Marcos shall be able to relay to the national assembly "recommendations" of U.S. imperialism which are usually first passed on to him and his "technocrats" by the U.S. imperialist agents in such agencies as the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and leading U.S. corporations, banks and foundations. By having the most decisive say on treaties, loan agreements, franchises, concessions, licenses and business contracts, he shall be able to further enlarge upon his personal wealth which is now superior in position and magnitude even to that of the Ayala, Soriano, and Zobel group. Indeed, bureaucrat capitalism has its rewards for Marcos and his cohorts--the top oligarchs in the country.

Like the 1935 constitution, the "new constitution" allows U.S. and other foreign investors to own and control even to the extent of one hundred per cent of corporate equity in most areas of investments. More than fifty per cent of the \$2 to \$3 billion U.S. investments are now in these unrestricted areas of investments. Even in such areas as the operation of public utilities and exploitation of land and natural resources, foreign investors can comply with the requirement of at least sixty per cent Filipino equity but they can control Philippine corporations in various ways to an extent far beyond what their formal ownership of forty per cent equity or even less may seem to indicate. They can exercise this control through interlocking corporations and "service contracts". This control allows them to draw superprofits as if there were no restrictions on the extent of foreign equity.

It is very striking that Article XIV is now completely silent on what specifically are the "traditional areas of investments" that shall be reserved to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations wholly owned by such citizens. In previous drafts of the "new constitution", there were references to retail, indent, import and wholesale as areas where one hundred per cent Filipino equity is required. But now even these secondary areas of the economy are open prey to "recommendations" of the fascist dictator. By its obvious silence, Section 3 tends to nullify even the Retail Trade Nationalization Act.

Section 5. No franchise, certificate, or any other form of authorization for the operation of a public utility shall be granted except to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or associations organized under the laws of the Philippines at least sixty per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens, nor shall such franchise, certificate, or authorization be exclusive in character or for a longer period than fifty years. Neither shall any such franchise or right be granted except under the condition that it shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal by the National Assembly when the public interest so requires. The State shall encourage equity participation in public utilities by the general public. The participation of foreign investors in the governing body of any public utility enterprise shall be limited to their proportionate share in the capital thereof.

Section 9. The disposition, exploration, development, or utilization of any of the natural resources of the Philippines shall be limited to citizens of the Philippines, or to corporations or associations at least sixty per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens. The National Assembly, in the national interest, may allow such citizens, corporations, or associations to enter into service contracts for financial, technical, management, or other forms of assistance with any foreign person or entity for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of any of the natural resources. Existing valid and binding service contracts for financial, technical, management, or other forms of assistance are hereby recognized as such.

Section 5 above is quite similar to and as reactionary as Section 8 of Article XIV of the 1935 constitution by allowing the grant of a franchise, certificate or some other form of authorization for the operation for a period of fifty years of a public utility to citizens of the Philippines and to Philippine corporations or associations in which foreign equity is not more than 40 per cent. What makes this section utterly worse than its predecessor is that it explicitly allows participation of foreign investors in the governing body of a public utility, throws away the recent Supreme Court decision on the Lustevenco case disallowing foreigners to be employed in local businesses and assures the foreign personnel of local U.S. oil and transportation firms of continued privilege. This section also encourages the "general public" to buy stocks so that these could be manipulated by a few big capitalists who control a solid bloc of stocks. A solid bloc of stocks even if amounting only to 40 per cent equity or even less can easily control the diffused stocks of the "general public" even if these amount to 60 per cent equity or more in a corporation.

Section 9 is also similar to and as reactionary as Section 1 of Article XIII of the 1935 constitution by allowing the disposition, exploration, development, exploitation or utilization of all public lands and all natural resources by citizens of the Philippines and to Philippine corporations or associations in which foreign equity is not more than 40 per cent. What is new in this section is that it approves one more method of circumventing the formal requirement of 40 per cent foreign equity in Philippine corporations, ensuring foreign control of Philippine business entities and, of course, enlarging the profits of the foreign investors far beyond the profits normally earned by 40 per cent equity in Philippine corporations. This method consists of allowing citizens of the Philippines and corporations or associations to enter into "service contracts" for financial, technical, management, or other forms of "assistance" with any foreign person or entity for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of any of the natural resources and public lands. The arguments used by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship for the adoption of this method are standard colonial and puppet arguments like the Philippines and Filipinos having no capital, technology and experience.

Even before the "ratification" of the "new constitution", Marcos threw the country wide open for oil exploration by foreign oil firms, mostly American and Japanese, by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 8 making the pending Senate Bill No. 531 (entitled An Act to Promote the Discovery and Production of Indigenous Petroleum and Appropriating Funds Therefor) a "part of the law of the land". Presidential Decree No. 8 sets the pattern for "service contracts"--a pattern for assuring foreign investors control over public lands and natural resources, tax exemptions and high profits far beyond what 40 per cent foreign equity would yield. This kind of decree is considered valid and binding by Section 9.

Section 11. The National Assembly, taking into account conservation, ecological, and developmental requirements of the natural resources, shall determine by law the size of lands of the public domain which may be developed, held or acquired by, or leased to, any qualified individual, corporation, or association, and the conditions therefor. No private corporation or association may hold alienable lands of the public domain except by lease not to exceed one thousand hectares in area; nor may any citizen hold such lands by lease in excess of five hundred hectares or acquire by purchase or homestead in excess of twenty-four hectares. No private corporation or association may hold by lease, concession, license, or permit, timber or forest lands and other timber or forest resources in excess of one hundred thousand hectares; however, such area may be increased by the National Assembly upon recommendation of the National Economic and Development Authority.

Though certain limits are set on the size of public lands to be disposed to individuals, corporations or associations, such limits are still extremely large and harmful to public interest and, furthermore, will not stop the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords from holding unlimited areas of public lands under various individual names and corporate names. Going by precedents, the reactionary government will certainly lease out individually to private corporations public lands far in excess of 1,000 hectares and also individually to private persons far in excess of 500 hectares. It will still allow private persons to acquire by purchase or "homestead" public lands far in excess of twenty-four hectares.

In fact, big landgrabbers in frontier areas have always insisted that vast tracts of cultivated lands are public lands only to proceed to holding these by lease, concession, license or permit and later on securing titles to these lands as their own private lands by claiming to have developed them. In the process, the landgrabbers dispossess the poor settlers and the national minorities through armed force and deceit with the active support of the reactionary government and its military troops. After all, the reactionary government has always encouraged the comprador-landlords to expand their landholdings by grabbing public lands and has repeatedly declared as part of its sham land reform program that they can get public lands in exchange for their lands that may be expropriated elsewhere.

Also, the reactionary government has encouraged U.S. corporations, especially those in agriculture, mining and logging, to hold hundreds of thousands of hectares of public lands. Corporations of the reactionary government have been most instrumental in letting foreign plantation interests take hold of wide tracts of public land in Mindanao and elsewhere under the cover of "growers' agreements". And, of course, the entire "new constitution" is silent about the fact that U.S. military bases and stations sit on about 200,000 hectares of public lands. This occupation of public lands by a foreign military power is properly prohibited by the definition of territory by a truly sovereign state.

The last two sentences of Section 11 above are utterly ridiculous. In one sentence, it is made to appear that no private corporation or association may hold by lease, concession, license or permit timber or forest lands and other timber or forest resources in excess of 100,000 hectares. In the subsequent sentence, it is provided that such area may be increased by the national assembly upon recommendation of the National Economic and Development Authority. Indeed, bureaucrat capitalism can always cook up situations and reasons for disposing unlimited amounts of public lands.

Section 6. The State may, in the interest of national welfare or defense, establish and operate industries and means of transportation and communication, and, upon payment of just compensation, transfer to public ownership utilities and other private enterprises to be operated by the Government.

Section 7. In times of national emergency when the public interest so requires; the State may temporarily take over or direct the operation of any privately owned public utility or business affected with public interest.

The property and interests of the big bourgeoisie, including the foreign monopolies and the local big compradors, are well sanctified by the "new constitution". Section 6 above, quite similar to and as reactionary as Section 6 of Article XIII of the 1935 constitution, categorically provides that public utilities and other private enterprises cannot be transferred to public ownership without "just compensation".

The Investment Incentives Act goes even as far as to guarantee the right of nonexpropriation to foreign investors. Consistent with this act, U.S. imperialism has tied down the reactionary government to investment insurance schemes covering U.S. investments so that the guarantees for the extraordinary privilege of nonexpropriation shall not only be in word but also in fact.

The basic requirement of "just compensation" guarantees that the property and interests of the big bourgeoisie are not to be diminished but are even to be enlarged. How can a financially bankrupt government, with small revenues and huge internal and external debts, offer "just compensation" to its foreign masters? Even before the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement, the fascist dictator Marcos has made it clear that U.S. investors should not worry too much about reducing their equities to 40 per cent in corporations engaged in the areas of public utilities, land and natural resources for as long as neither the reactionary government nor private Filipino businessmen can afford to buy them out. This is what Marcos calls "justice" and "fairness" to his imperialist masters. Furthermore, even if the U.S. investors were to be bought out on their equity excesses, they are still free to shift their capital to so many other lucrative fields of investment in the country.

Without any mention of "just compensation", Section 7 above provides that in times of "national emergency" the state may temporarily take over or direct the operation of any privately owned public utility or business. This section is specifically intended to preempt claims for damages that may be made by business enterprises maliciously shut down or taken over by the fascist dictator Marcos for his political and economic gain. Under Proclamation No. 1081, there has been a real and selective but temporary take-over of such enterprises as the MERALCO, ABS-CBN, ABC, *Manila Times*, *Manila Chronicle*, *Free Press*, IIS'III and so many others. It has never been in accord with public interest for the fascist dictatorship to make such take-over. Such take-over is merely a part of the narrow scheme to suppress the opponents and critics of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and also allow the private business interests of the fascist dictator to muscle in. The most conspicuous private business interests of Marcos that have been benefitted by Proclamation No. 1081 are the *Daily Express*, KBS-RPN, Liwayway Publications Group, P.L.D.T. and ELISCO. With regard to the long-term intentions of either Section 6 or 7, we state that a reactionary state can never truly stand for national welfare, defense or public interest.

Section 12. The State shall formulate and implement an agrarian reform program aimed at emancipating the tenant from the bondage of the soil and achieving the goals enunciated in this Constitution.

Section 13. The National Assembly may authorize, upon payment of just compensation, the expropriation of private lands to be subdivided into small lots and conveyed at cost to deserving citizens.

Taken together, Section 12 and Section 13 demonstrate the rank hypocrisy and demagoguery of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The first section repeating phrases from Marcos' Presidential Decree No. 27 provides that there shall be an agrarian reform program. On the other hand, the second section echoing Section 4, Article XIII of the 1935 constitution demands that "just compensation" be paid to the landlords in cases of expropriation. In effect, the tenants can be emancipated only if they themselves can afford the prohibitive redistribution price (plus interest and tax payments) demanded by the reactionary government. In other words, the "new constitution" actually sets a condition for preventing the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants from coming to own their share of land.

It must be pointed out that there has never been any poor peasant, farm worker or lower-middle peasant who has been emancipated by trying to pay for the landlord's land under the "expropriation" program of the reactionary government. In the first place, the reactionary government is restricted by its own political character and financial limitations from expropriating even only one per cent of the total landholdings of the landlord class. For instance, only 3,876 hectares were expropriated at the cost of ₱16,002,900 by the reactionary government during the entire life of the Agricultural Land Reform Code from 1963 to 1971. This area is equivalent only to a very small portion of the Marcos hacienda of 22,000 hectares in the Cagayan Valley.

Lately, the fascist dictator Marcos has made it even more obvious than ever before through Presidential Decree No. 27 that the poor peasants, farm workers and

lower-middle peasants can never hope to give "just compensation" to the landlords or afford the redistribution price set by the reactionary government. The formula dictated by Presidential Decree No. 27 for determining the value of the landlord's land, i.e., the average annual crop (based on three normal crop years) multiplied by two and one-half (2 1/2) plus annual interest charges of six per cent for fifteen years, has artificially increased the value of the landlord's land far beyond its "fair market value". Presidential Decree No. 27 is even more foolish than the Agricultural Land Reform Code of 1963 and its 1971 modified version, the Code of Agrarian Reforms. This decree has served only to expose further the counterrevolutionary character of the fascist dictatorship among the peasant masses and to stress the correct revolutionary program of distributing land to the poor peasants, farm workers and lower-middle peasants at no cost. The fascist dictatorship is simply daydreaming when it claims that Presidential Decree No. 27 has effectively counteracted the agrarian revolution being waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the peasant masses.

OUR ATTITUDE AND POLICY ON THE "NEW CONSTITUTION"

There is no fundamental difference between the 1935 constitution and the "new constitution" in the sense that U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism continue to be given the license to ride roughshod over the broad masses of the people. The most striking difference that is in the "new constitution" is neither the adoption of the parliamentary form of government, the lowering of the age of suffrage nor any thing else of the sort, as some may superficially think, but it is the rabidly counterrevolutionary endorsement of a fascist dictatorship out to preserve the old society even while calling it a "new society" against the ever rising tide of the revolutionary mass movement. This "new constitution" is essentially and completely repugnant to the national sovereignty and democratic rights of the Filipino people.

Now that the final draft of the "new constitution" is out, it is absolutely clear that the very idea of holding the 1971-72 constitutional convention, without any prior fundamental change of the social order, has been part of a long-nurtured scheme of the U.S.-Marcos clique to keep itself in power even beyond 1973 through a vicious rightist counterrevolutionary coup and a fascist dictatorship. The 1970 elections for delegates were fashioned in such a manner as to bring to the reactionary constitutional convention the biggest possible number of big comprador, big landlord and big bureaucrat delegates beholden to the political machinery of the U.S.-Marcos clique.

Subsequently in the convention, the U.S.-Marcos clique scandalously manipulated its minions against a broad range of progressive delegates determined to stop the obvious scheme to perpetuate Marcos in power. The Quintero expose showed up the corrupt methods employed by this clique to keep its minions in tow. Then in one fell swoop, upon the declaration of martial rule, the full-fledged fascist dictatorship took every measure to suppress its opponents inside and outside the convention. Thus, it came to pass that the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship succeeded in ramming through the convention the final draft of the "new constitution" now offered for "ratification" in one more farce--a sham plebiscite on January 15, 1973.

Only after the final signing of this "new constitution" by the farcical constitutional convention on November 30, 1972 has the fascist dictator Marcos decreed with the silly air of self-indulgence an order to his military minions to allow "free discussion and debate". This he does while he continues to unleash the wildest and most futile kinds of onslaught against the broad masses of workers, peasants, students, youth, women and the national minorities. This he does while he continues to suppress all open and legal organizations, mass media and other entities that are firmly opposed to his tyrannical rule. This he does while his spies continue to eavesdrop on the people's ordinary conversations.

The fascist dictator Marcos now appears to believe that he has sufficiently intimidated the broad masses of the people and deceived them about his perverse record and ambitions. He has monopolized the use of armed force in urban areas and elsewhere, all instrumentalities of the reactionary government, the mass media, the schools and everything else which he can actually take over or threaten with armed force. He is going by his previous boast that as some sort of military conqueror he is comparable to the infamous imperialist General Arthur MacArthur who as head of the U.S. aggressor troops in the Philippines issued in 1902 General Order No. 68, declaring martial law.

Even while this colonial military order was not lifted until sometime in the thirties, the U.S. colonial government issued and put into effect "fundamental laws" governing the Philippines as a colony.

Though he has several times boasted of his Proclamation No. 1081 as a "new and outstanding contribution to international jurisprudence", the fascist dictator actually traces the antecedence of this proclamation to the general order of a barbaric foreign aggressor, U.S. imperialism, which he continues to serve. What the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship calls "martial law Philippine-style" is also nothing but a cheap imitation of the tricks of such contemporary fascist dictators as Thieu, Pak Jung Hi, Lon Nol, Suharto, Chiang, Thanom, Papadopoulos and the like, and also of such bygone fascist dictators as Hitler, Mussolini, Batista, Ngo Dinh Diem and the like. All of these have had their own constitutions permitting them to rule indefinitely.

The confidence of the fascist dictator Marcos in allowing "free discussion and debate" on the "new constitution" arises from several facts. The period before January 15 is extremely short. The most powerful legal means of communications spout only his counterrevolutionary propaganda. The printing and handling of ballots are under the full control of his rabid agents in the Commission on Elections and in the reactionary armed forces. The constitutional convention delegates eager to take their share of the loot are bound to do a lot of campaigning all over the country. Local officials of the reactionary government irrespective of their political parties are under duress and are under strict orders to support the "new constitution" under the pretext of "nonpartisanship". Furthermore, the counting of votes or more precisely the misreporting of votes to the public shall finally be made by his rabid agents even as the honest public school teachers shall have made a fair counting of votes.

The fascist dictator has always stressed that there is no more turning back from his mad lurch. He is terrified by the prospect of having to pay with his life the many grave crimes of fascism, puppetry and corruption that he has perpetrated on the people. His stakes are now far higher than in any previous election when he at any rate resorted to fraud and terrorism. Likewise, the stakes of his imperialist masters are high. Thus, he would resort to every possible measure in the forthcoming "plebiscite" in order to perpetuate himself in power and to give a semblance of constitutionality and legality to his usurpation of absolute power. It is by the "ratification" of the "new constitution" that he hopes to be able to cling more tightly to U.S. imperialism and rule indefinitely.

But the people will never respect a "constitution" that is the product and token of their enemy. Since the fascist dictator is fond of drawing parallelisms between the Philippines and south Vietnam, let us remind him that the late unlamented Ngo Dinh Diem was able to fabricate his own "constitution" against the people's will while he boasted that he was preempting the revolution in south Vietnam. Such constitution and such boasting only damned Ngo and the Vietnamese revolution advanced even more vigorously. We are certain of two possibilities for the fascist dictator Marcos: either he shall be outmaneuvered by his fellow reactionaries in a relatively short time or he shall stay in power long enough to hear the New People's Army approaching Malacanang. In any case, the people's wrath shall have something to do with his fate.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to expose and condemn the "new constitution" as a license for keeping the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship indefinitely and for aggravating the oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people by the foreign monopolists, the big compradors and big landlords. We are determined to focus attention on the proimperialist and antidemocratic provisions which make the "new constitution" essentially and completely counterrevolutionary. Together with all our allies, we are determined to arouse and mobilize the entire nation and people to reject this filthy scrap of paper made in Malacanang. It is apt to call this the Marcos constitution in order to unmask its despicable author.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship may be able to frustrate and make a mockery of the people's will in a "plebiscite" that is under its control. But then in the end, will a filthy scrap of paper really save the fascist dictatorship from the wrath of the people? Mere hypocritical invocations of "constitutional rule" will not make the fascist dictatorship less than its abhorrent self. The longer the U.S.-Marcos dictator-

ship reigns, the more determined are the broad masses of the Filipino people to overthrow it. They shall surely win under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Reject the Marcos constitution!

Expose the sham plebiscite!

Down with the martial rule of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship!

Fight for national freedom and democracy!

Carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!

Long live the Filipino people!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

December 3, 1972

* * *

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT

Memorandum

ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 2/9/73

LEGAT, MANILA (105-88) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES/MARXIST-LENINIST (CPP/ML)
IS - PHILIPPINES

ReSFlet 11/10/72, with enclosures.

The Manila Office maintains two files as the CPP is split with the CPP remaining pro-Moscow while the CPP/ML is pro-Peking. The former has MANfile 105-49 and the latter 105-88. The title has not been marked changed as Legat is not sure whether the Bureau and San Francisco will feel it worthwhile to split their case files between the two groups.

Copies of the "Ang Bayan" English editions provided by San Francisco have been furnished to the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA), Quezon City, for their information.

San Francisco is requested to advise whether there is any objection to disseminating one copy of their LHM dated 11/10/72, to NICA.

- 15 - Bureau
(1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)
(2 - San Francisco)(100-26375)(6-117)
1 - Manila
RJG-nme
(6)

REC-3

2cc - San Francisco - action 64-200-239-573

2-14-73

JRW/lmb

FEB 14 1973

FEB 20 1973

NAT. INT. SEC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-07-2012 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lag

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 2/23/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-26375) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINE Islands (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES
OO: Bureau

Re San Francisco letters dated 11/10/72 and
1/5/73, with LHMs of same dates but datelined
at Washington, D.C.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10) copies of an

[redacted] Also enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10)
xeroxed copies of the following publication of
the CCP:

"Ang Bayan" special release dated 12/26/72,
entitled: "The Party Enters Its Fifth Year
Since Reestablishment" (consisting of five
legal-sized pages).

Legat, Manila is advised there is no objection
to disseminating a copy of referenced LHMs or of enclosed
LHM, to the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency of
the Philippines. The LHMs being datelined at Washington,
D.C. and classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ should sufficiently protect
the identity of the source.

- 6 - Bureau (Encls. 20) (RM)
(2 - Legat, Manila) (105-88)
(1 - 105-184369) (RU)
(1 - [redacted])
4 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-26375)
(1 - 105-882) (Philippine Activities)
(1 - 100-61281) (RU)
(1 - [redacted])

JES/pkv (S-7)
(10)

57 MAR 12 1973

UNRECORDED COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED
105-184369-239

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SF 100-26375
JES/pkv

Source mentioned in the enclosed LHM is [redacted]
who is contacted daily (except weekends) by SA [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to further protect the identity of [redacted] a source of continuing value who could possibly suffer financial loss and physical harm were his cooperation with the FBI to become known. Unauthorized disclosure of his identity could reasonably be expected to cause damage to the national security.

San Francisco will continue to advise the Bureau of items which the RU may receive from captioned organization.

Bureau is considered origin in captioned matter since the CPP is located abroad in the Philippines.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.

February 23, 1973

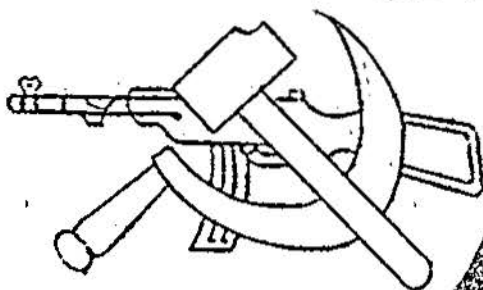
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

During January, 1973, a source made available an issue of the "English Edition" of "Ang Bayan", which is self-identified as published by the Communist Party of the Philippines. According to the source, this publication had been received by a revolutionary organization in the United States in an envelope which was postmarked, "December 28, 1972 at Greenhills Post Office, Rizal, Philippines." This publication was produced on legal-sized paper, the first page being headed as follows:

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Bayan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CLASSIFIED BY~~

~~EXEMPT FROM GENERAL
DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE
OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED
ON: INDEFINITE~~

b6
b7c

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE 64-200-239-574

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

According to the source, the envelope in which this issue of "Ang Bayan" was received bore the return address:

Philippine Underwriters Corporation
P.O. Box 2566
Manila

The mentioned issue of "Ang Bayan", dated December 26, 1972 is entitled: "The Party Enters Its Fifth Year Since Reestablishment" and opens with the following statement:

"The Communist Party of the Philippines has successfully undergone the test of four years of difficult revolutionary struggle since the Congress of Reestablishment on December 26, 1968. By keeping to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, this revolutionary party of the proletariat has steadily grown and steeled itself in the crucible of armed revolution..."

The issue consists of five pages and presents its ideas under four sub-headings. The first, entitled: "The Party Develops The Marxist-Leninist Standpoint, Viewpoint and Method", discusses the study and propaganda policies of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and declares that:

"Among Party cadres and members, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung are disseminated, read and studied in order to shed light on the Philippine revolution and develop the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method..."

The next section of this issue of "Ang Bayan", under sub-heading, "The Party Maintains Its Political Leadership In The Revolutionary Struggle", declares that the CPP has "asserted its leadership" in the "revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It draws strength from the revolutionary armed struggle that it is indefatigably waging in the countryside and from the national united front that it is patiently developing..."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

This section further states:

"The New People's Army is the Party's principal instrument for bringing together the proletariat and the peasantry, for carrying out the agrarian revolution, for building mass organizations in the countryside and for establishing local people's government in preparation for nationwide seizure of political power. It... has wiped out landlord despots, including incorrigible elements, and several thousands of enemy troops since 1969... But what is most fearsome to the enemy is that the Party has provided... the Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform in order to systematize, expand and intensify the agrarian revolution..."

The following two paragraphs, quoted from page 3 of this issue of "Ang Bayan", discuss the united front activities of the CPP:

"The Party is enthusiastically bringing together all democratic classes, groups and personages into a broad national united front against the U.S.-harcos dictatorship. The most solid expression of this revolutionary united front is the establishment of local organs of political power in the countryside. The barrio revolutionary committees and barrio organizing committees being built in guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones, respectively, serve as the basis for the development of the national united front and the people's democratic government. Having revolutionary foresight, the Party has seen fit to put these committees in their proper context by issuing the Guide for the Establishment of the People's Democratic Government.

In the cities, the Party is also actively striving to bring together a broad range of allies who look forward to a coalition government on a nationwide scale and who are at any rate contributing what they can to the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Despite enemy assaults, the workers' revolutionary movement and the cultural revolution continue to advance. The many democratic mass organizations, especially those in factories, schools, communities and offices, have gone underground. But they continue to conduct mass work and effective propaganda against the U.S.-harcos dictatorship. At the same time, so many mass activists who are in the black-list of the enemy have been integrated into the New People's Army."

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

The last two sub-headings of this issue of "Ang Bayan" are entitled: "Party Members Are Drawn from the Ranks of the Revolutionary Masses" and "The Philippine Struggle Enjoys the Support of the World's Peoples".

Under the first of these two sub-headings, the statement is made that: "The Party has a broad mass character. Its cadres and members are tested revolutionaries... It has now a few thousands of Party members and candidate-members. But this number is still small in relation to the gigantic tasks at hand and ahead... As a matter of fact, most members of the Central Committee are tied down to regional work..."

Under the last sub-heading it is stated that: "The Communist Party of the Philippines is immensely supported by the great achievements of the Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction... and the revolutionary unity of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean and other peoples of Asia against U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism." However, no mention is made of any direct or specific support of the CPP from abroad.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONIn Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.

February 23, 1973

Title COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - PHILIPPINES

Reference Washington, D.C. memorandum dated
and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ENCLOSURE 64-200-239-574

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PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Special Release

(English Edition)

December 26, 1972

THE PARTY ENTERS ITS FIFTH YEAR SINCE REESTABLISHMENT

The Communist Party of the Philippines has successfully undergone the test of four years of difficult revolutionary struggle since the Congress of Reestablishment on December 26, 1968. By keeping to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, this revolutionary party of the proletariat has steadily grown and steeled itself in the crucible of armed revolution against armed counterrevolution.

The emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has only served to show the utter bankruptcy of imperialist and feudal rule and to underscore the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is the party that is most prepared and most capable to lead the broad masses of the Filipino people in the life-and-death struggle for national freedom and democracy.

As the Party enters its fifth year since its reestablishment, it has to fight ever more vigorously and ever more militantly against a fascist dictatorship that knows no bounds for its puppetry, brutality, corruption and mendacity. A new and higher level of revolutionary struggle has come about; conditions for waging armed revolution against the armed counterrevolution ~~is~~ more than ever excellent. The widespread criminal abuses of the fascist dictatorship have not cowed the people but have roused them to exert greater revolutionary efforts along the course charted by the Party and the proletariat.

The Party Develops the Marxist-Leninist Standpoint, Viewpoint and Method

The Communist Party of the Philippines is bound to outlast the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship because it is firmly founded on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Under the impact of the revolutionary movement resolutely led by the Party, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bound to be swept away into the dustbin of history. This fascist dictatorship is a mere passing phase in the evil career of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. On the other hand, the Party shall live on as the revolutionary leader in the national-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution.

The determination of the Filipino people to achieve national freedom and democracy is most concentrated in our Party which, acting as the most advanced detachment of the proletariat, constantly strives to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. Among Party cadres and members, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung are disseminated, read and studied in order to shed light on the Philippine revolution and develop the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method.

The scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism are the reservoir of revolutionary strength for the Party and the people. As the Philippine revolutionary struggle intensifies, the persistent struggle of the Party against modern revisionism, purveyed by the Soviet social-imperialists and the Lava revisionist renegades, is serving well the cause of national freedom and democracy. The Party remains firm in striving to fulfill its central task of overthrowing the reactionary state and can more easily than before its reestablishment avoid the pitfalls of subjectivism, either in the form of dogmatism or empiricism.

The Central Committee has always taken the lead in the Party in giving a national form to Marxism-Leninism. It has issued comprehensive and concrete analyses of Philippine society and revolution. It has not allowed a single major national issue or problem pass without concrete analysis and without expression of a definite political stand. It has issued timely statements against the puppet and comprador-landlord U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, exposing its fascist character and defining the current tasks of the Party.

The plan to provide Party members and candidate-members with primary education on Marxist-Leninist principles and on the Philippine society and revolution is well fulfilled. The Central Committee and the regional committees are working hard to carry out the intermediate and advanced courses of study. In line with their Marxist-Leninist education, Party cadres and members at every level and in every unit of work sum up their work on a regular and timely basis. Criticism and self-criticism is carried out in order to rectify errors, improve the style of work and raise the level of work.

The Party Maintains Its Political Leadership in the Revolutionary Struggle

The Communist Party of the Philippines has asserted its leadership in the Philippine revolution by correctly setting and pursuing the general line of the people's democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It draws strength from the revolutionary armed struggle that it is indefatigably waging in the countryside and from the national united front that it is patiently developing. Having a full grasp of the correct political programme, the Party can avoid major errors of policy, such as Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism, or rectify them when ever they occur.

The New People's Army is the Party's principal instrument for bringing together the proletariat and the peasantry, for carrying out the agrarian revolution, for building mass organizations in the countryside and for establishing local people's government in preparation for nationwide seizure of political power. It has been steeled by persevering revolutionary struggle against fascist counter-revolution. It has not only preserved itself against military "task forces", the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and now the declaration of martial rule and the advent of a full-fledged fascist dictatorship but has continued to advance and wipe out enemy forces in ever increasing numbers.

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The New People's Army has wiped out landlord despots, including incorrigible bad elements, and several thousands of enemy troops since 1969. Since the formal declaration of martial rule, it has wiped out enemy troops at an accelerated rate far exceeding any previous rate and on a rapidly expanding scale. More guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones are arising in every major region of the country. Furthermore, the Mindanao national minorities are now politically and militarily coordinating with the Party and the New People's Army. But what is most fearsome to the enemy is that the Party has provided the New People's Army and the peasant masses the Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform in order to systematize, expand and intensify the agrarian revolution and fulfill the main content of the people's democratic revolution. The land reform hoax of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bound to go the way of all such hoaxes in the past in the face of the agrarian revolution.

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has become so grave that the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has been set up to oppose the rising tide of the revolutionary movement. This fascist dictatorship is in line with the "Nixon doctrine" and is specifically calculated to retain and enlarge U.S. imperialist and comprador-landlord interests in the country. The Marcos constitution rammed through the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention reflects the malevolent schemes of the U.S. imperialists and ~~the~~^{their} most rabid running dogs. The new turn of events in the Philippines demonstrates the common bankruptcy of the fascists, revisionists and various stripes of reformists who have harped on the line that the "new constitution" is the "last hope of the people".

In the present situation, the national united front is expanding rapidly as a result of the wanton assaults of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship on the broad masses of the proletariat, peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Among those assaulted are also the Liberal Party, certain sections of the Nacionalista^{Party}, the overwhelming majority of the legal press, the national minorities and others who have opposed the flagrant abuses of the U.S.-Marcos clique. The fascist dictatorship has in effect isolated itself from the broad masses of the people and at the same time aggravated its violent conflicts even with other reactionaries. The imposition of the present fascist rule is the culmination of the second Plaza Miranda massacre and all other massacres perpetrated by the U.S.-Marcos clique.

The Party is enthusiastically bringing together all democratic classes, groups and personages into a broad national united front against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The most solid expression of this revolutionary united front is the establishment of local organs of political power in the countryside. The barrio revolutionary committees and barrio organizing committees being built in guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones, respectively, serve as the basis for the development of the national united front and the people's democratic government. Having revolutionary foresight, the Party has seen fit to put these committees in their proper context by issuing the Guide for the Establishment of the People's Democratic Government.

In the cities, the Party is also actively striving to bring together a broad range of allies who look forward to a coalition government on a nationwide scale and who are at any rate contributing what they can to the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Despite enemy assaults, the workers' revolutionary movement and the cultural revolution continue to advance. The many democratic mass organizations, especially those in factories, schools, communities and offices, have gone underground. But they continue to conduct mass work and effective propaganda against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. At the same time, so many mass activists who are in the black-list of the enemy have been integrated into the New People's Army.

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Party Members Are Drawn
from the Ranks of the Revolutionary Masses

The Party continues to draw its members and candidate-members from the ranks of Red fighters and activists in the mass organizations and localities. The Party has a broad mass character. Its cadres and members are tested revolutionaries with the capability of leading large numbers of masses. Furthermore, the Central Committee has during the last two years been quite successful in deploying cadres to all major regions of the country and in creating provisional and duly elected regional committees which have in turn created Party branches and groups in units of the New People's Army, localities and mass organizations.

Largely due to its correct ideological and political line, the Party has been able to develop its present organizational strength. It has now a few thousands of Party members and candidate-members. But this number is still small in relation to the gigantic tasks at hand and ahead. Many functions are still crying for more revolutionary cadres. As a matter of fact, most members of the Central Committee are tied down to regional work. Because of the infancy of the Party, violations of democratic centralism and sectarianism do occur at certain levels and in certain areas. However, these mistakes are being vigorously counteracted by the Central Committee.

Since last year's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, efforts have been intensified to develop the revolutionary underground on an extensive scale. Thus, upon the imposition of martial rule, the Party has been able to avoid the crushing blows of the enemy. It now functions as the core of a much-expanded underground. However, there is a continuing need to develop the underground and the system of communications between the Party center and the regions and within the regions. The enemy is hell-bent on employing its superior system of communications to its advantage and deliberately trying to cut-off one area from another. So far, we have been able to counteract his tactics and circumvent or penetrate his blockades. We are also determined to disrupt his system of communications.

Every unit of the Party and also every unit under Party leadership should strive for self-reliance. Also, the style of hard struggle and simple living should characterize all Party cadres and members while they exert all efforts to improve the people's livelihood by carrying out the agrarian revolution, the workers' strike movement and other like struggles. The Party should see to it that the people's democratic government and the people's army are supported not through contributions and taxation alone but also through productive activities.

The Philippine Revolutionary Struggle
Enjoys the Support of the World's Peoples

The revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party of the Philippines is immensely supported by the great achievements of the Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction, the victorious advance of the Indochinese people against U.S. imperialism, the revolutionary struggles of all other Southeast Asian peoples and the revolutionary unity of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean and other peoples of Asia against U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism.

The revolutionary struggles of the Palestinian and Arab people against the two superpowers; of the African peoples against colonialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination; of the Latin-American peoples against U.S. imperialism; of the Eastern European peoples against Soviet social-imperialism; of middle-sized and small countries against big-power chauvinism and nuclear blackmail; and of all working people in capitalist countries also constitute powerful support to the Philippine revolution.

The revolutionary struggles and victories of the peoples of the world have drastically weakened the imperialist countries to the core and lessened the area for unhindered imperialist exploitation and oppression. U.S. imperialism is increasingly finding itself hemmed in and in contradiction even with its own capitalist kindred, like Japan, Western Europe and the Soviet Union. Suffering serious setbacks all over the world, U.S. imperialism is increasingly unable to cover up its deep-seated contradictions with the American proletariat and people. The revolutionary mass movement in the United States is steadily gaining ground.

Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations the world over are increasing in number and raising their fighting prowess. They serve as the guarantee for the advance of the world proletarian revolution. They lead the peoples of various countries in a resolute struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to lead the Philippine revolution from victory to victory. It is exerting all efforts to arouse and mobilize the Filipino people, achieve the people's democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs and fulfill its share in the liberation of mankind from the scourge of imperialism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Unite to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship!

Fight for national freedom and democracy!

Expand and intensify the revolutionary armed struggle!

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Down with U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

December 26, 1972